THE HISTORY OF THE MANAGEMENTS OF Cardinal JULIO MAZARINE

Chief MINISTER of STATE of the Crown of *FRANCE*.

Written in *Italian* by Count *Galeazzo Gualdi Priorato*. And Translated according to the Original.

In the which

Are Related the Principal Successes Happened from the Beginning of his Management of Affairs till his Death.

Tom. I. Part II.

LONDON,
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THE HISTORY of Cardinal JULIO MAZARINE.

Part II. Lib. I.

THE YEAR 1652. concluding with worse Fortune and Succeſs to the Crown of *France*, then it had begun; Cardinal *Mazarine* being triumphantly returned to *Paris* with the univerſal Applauſe (either true or pretended) of the People and Parliament it ſelf, which had treated him ſo ignominiouſly not long before; and wounded his reputation with ſo many extravigant injuries,

applied himself with great diligence to the continuation of the Government, as well in its Politick, as Military Authority, endeavouring both by his Negotiations and his Armes, not only to reduce the disobedient and seditious Towns that were in rebellion at home, but to purge the Kingdom of all Foreign Armies, and restore it to its primitive Potency and Grandeur.

Proceeding therefore in his Preparations for War, the Cardinal in the first place caused several sums of money to be paid to the Colonels and Captains of the old Troops for their Recruits, and Commissions to be given out for new Levies; he thought it necessary likewise to entertain a Squadron of *German* Horse, as Persons very proper for his Incampments, and constant to the Party in which they engage, to that end he dispatch'd

patch'd the Count *de Nantueil*, Monſieur *Milet*, Monſieur *Gontier*, Monſieur *Gravelle* and others into *Germany* with ready money, as likewiſe the Counts *de Grandprè*, and *Beaujeu*, into the Countrey of *Liege*.

And becauſe of the loſs of *Caſal*, and the Preparations for War which the *Spaniards* made in the State of *Milan*, (where great Recruits were expected, as well from *Naples* as *Germany*) *Piedmont* was ſo dangerouſly threatned, that the Duke of *Savoy* by his reiterated ſolicitations, preſt hard for conſiderable ſupplies, or elſe to be permitted to enter into a Neutrality with *Spain*; the Court of *France* diſpatch'd into *Piedmont* 4500 Foot, and 1500 Horſe, which arrived happily in the Month of *May* at *Anone*, as an inforcement to the *French* Troops already in thoſe parts under the Command of

Count *de Quincy*, till the Arrival of a Mareschal of *France*, who was expected every day.

And because the *Spaniard* continued the Negotiations which were begun long before with the Duke of *Savoy*, to gain him to their party, or at least reduce him to a Neutrality, by their advantageous Exhibitions, to which a Minister of that Court appear'd to be inclin'd; The King sent Monsieur *de Plessis Besanzon* his Lieutenant General, with the Title of one of his Gentlemen, to all the Princes of *Italy*, to Negotiate about the present Affairs of those parts.

In execution therefore of his Orders, *Besanzon* advanced with great diligence to *Turin*, from whence, having assured the Duke that his Majesty would maintain the Treaty of *Chirasco*, that he would defend *Piedmont*, always pro-

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tect that State, and cause an Army with considerable Commanders to march immediately thither; to that purpose he proceeded to *Casal*, where he found the Duke of *Mantua* at that time, and being receiv'd with the honours usually exhibited to the Kings Embassador, he contracted his business into two Points. One was, that His Majesty should be satisfy'd about the interest of *Casal*, and that that place should be put into a condition, not to be surprized, exchanged, or fall any other way into the hands of the *Spaniard*. The other was, about the pretences the Ministers of *Spain* might make under the name of the said Duke of *Mantua* to *Montferrat*, which was then in possession of *Savoy*, forasmuch as His most Christian Majesty was ready to deposit the sum contained in the Treaty of *Chirasco*, for the discharge of the House of *Savoy*

To these two Propositions the Duke replyd, That he esteem'd the coming of the said Monsieur *du Plessis* as a particular favour, not doubting but he (as a prudent person) would apprehend the necessity which obliged him to possess himself of those places, and be perswaded, that by no accident whatever, he should be alienated from that devotion, which upon so many reasons and obligations his Highness profess'd to His most Christian Majesty; so he hoped also on the other side, he would shew himself so courteous, as to convince His said Majesty, that he was resolved to hazard his own life and estate, and the lives and estates of all his subjects, before he would suffer the *Spaniards* or any other to make themselves Master of the said places. That it might possibly be, the money for the payment of the Garrison might come

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out of the Coffers of the King of *Spain*, which yet was more then he knew; but however, he protested he receiv'd it as coming from the Empress his Aunt, and her Sister, under whose Authority that Treaty was concluded.

That whenever he should be repossess'd of that part of the estate, which the House of *Savoy*, with manifest injustice detein'd from him, and might freely make use of those Rents, as he had formerly done: and as he had often protested against the Treaties, which were never consented to by the House of *Mantua*, as being too much to its prejudice, he would maintain that Garrison himself without the assistance of any one, and therefore he conceived in that respect it would have been more proper for him to have been sent to the Court of *Savoy*, to have interpos'd his Majestie's Authority

there, and caus'd them without further expostulation, to have restor'd what so unjustly they detein'd, then to address himself to his Highness, who would be more ready to embrace ways of Amity and Peace, then of Violence and War, which he knew would disturb the quiet of all *Italy*, so much desired and endeavoured by the House of *Mantua*, which would clearly appear to whoever would impartially look back, and consider who they were which did really interrupt it; and at length he told him that he could not in reason accept of the sum he was offer'd, seeing he had not only not consented to, but oppos'd the aforesaid Treaties; and besides, the said sums would fall much short of what was due, by reason of the advantages had been made of the rents of it, since the House of *Savoy* had it in their hands.

Du Plessis had declar'd before, both to the Duke, and the Marquess *de la Val*, his Highnesses prime Minister, that they could not satisfie *France* any other way, but by putting the affairs of *Casal* and *Monferrat* in the same condition they were in, before his Highness made use of the *Spaniards* to cause the *French* to march out. But perceiving by their Answers, both by word of mouth and in writing, that that instance was in vain, and believing it would be sufficient for His Majesty (considering the importance of the place) if it were well fortified and provided with a Garrison independent on the *Spaniards*, and able to keep them out upon any pretence whatsoever; he proposed, that to satisfie those ends if it were possible, That half the Garrison should consist of the subjects of the said Duke, and the other half of *Swisses*,

raised in the *Catholick* Cantons, That all of them should remain under the Command and Authority of his Highness. That one half of them should be paid by His most Christian Majesty, and the other half by the Princes and Potentates of *Italy*, his Allies, and such as were most interested in that Affair: He considered this Expedient would be a great ease to the Dukes Treasures, till a General Peace could be concluded betwixt the two Crowns; upon such conditions as should be proper to draw his Highness out of the necessity (in which he was at that time) of taking money of the *Spaniards*, which was a thing much to the dishonor of those who had so often defended that place against them, and might at length produce inconveniences absolutely repugnant to the quiet and security of the said Duke and his subjects.

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John Coexens, Secretary to the Emperess *Leonora*, whom she had sent Post with all possible diligence, to the end he might in her behalf, and in the name of the Emperess Regnant, superintend the said Treaty, was arrived, and at that time present in the Court.

Whereupon the Duke, having communicated the aforesaid Propositions with him, he replied, That his Highness's Aunt and her Sister, would have no small reason to complain, if, after his Catholick Majesty had pass't his Royal word, that all things should always be maintained in the free disposition of his Highness, and they received that Promise as a great Obligation, he should have recourse to other persons for the subsistence of his Troops, and demonstrate so little faith and confidence in his Majesty, whose interest it was to conserve his Famil

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and his Estate: To this *Coexens* added, That it would be taken ill from his Highness, if while he received Investiture for *Montferrat* from his Imperial Majesty, he should receive into the places depending upon it, either Garrison or money from any other Prince, without the Privity and Consent of the said Emperour, and the rather, because the aforesaid Empresses, his Aunt and her Sister were his Sureties in that Affair.

At length all the Dukes Answers were reduc'd to one Point, which was this, That if the Estates which were taken from him, and possest by the House of *Savoy* were restored, and all the rents which belong'd to them, he should be able without assistance from any person to secure and preserve those places himself. But Monsieur *du Plessis*, who foresaw that would be the most ready and the most proper

per Answer could be given, was not however satisfy'd with his Answer, though, as the Duke told him, he doubted not but upon a prudent and serious reflexion he would approve it, and according to his accustomed courtesie represent it to the King, adding a thousand Professions of the Obsequiousness and Devotion he intended always to preserve for his Majestie.

Du Plessis was not at all satisfied with his Answers, and therefore finding his Propositions desperate, having received many honours, and demonstration of esteem as to his person, but refus'd the Presents which the Duke out of his Generosity design'd for him, departing from *Casal*, he return'd to *Turin*, from whence he gave the King an account of his Negotiation; From *Turin* he was conducted to *Genoa*, where he transacted with

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that state to their mutual satisfaction; from thence he went to *Parma*, and *Modena*, and having managed his Affairs there with the same good success, he arrived at *Venice* the 24. of *July*.

The substance of his Negotiation was, to let the Princes of *Italy* know of what importance it was to them to have *Pignerol* conserved in the hands of the *French*; That the Treaty of *Chirasco* should be observ'd, and that satisfaction should be given to His most Christian Majesty, by the Duke of *Mantua*, in reference to the Affair of *Casal*, to prevent those disorders which would be pernicious to the quiet and liberty of *Italy*, if his most Christian Majesty, should be constrain'd to transport his Arms into the very heart of *Lombardy*, as without their compliance he would be necessitated to do.

The Mareschal *Turenne* was con-

confirm'd in the Command of his Army against the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*; for his Lieutenant-Generals he had deputed the Marquess *de Uxelles*, the Count *de Beaujeu*, the Sieurs *de Castelneau*, and *de Sant Maur*, all brave persons, of great experience and renown. There were designed likewise 7500 Horse and Foot for *Rossiglion* and *Catalonia*, under the Command of Mareschal *Hoquincourt*; and at last, after several Negotiations, by the intercession of the Bishop of *Xaintes*, he prevail'd upon the Count *de Ognon*, to resign the Governments of the Countrey of *Aunis*, the Isles of *Oleron* and *Rhe*, and the strong Town of *Brouages*, which he held as the Queens Lieutenant-General, upon the paying him 3000 Francs, and delivering a Patent to be Duke, Pair and Mareschal of *France*.

The Reasons upon which this person

person was brought to this resignation was this, That not being able to stand upon his own legs, he must have been constrained to have thrown himself under the Protection of *Spain*, or of *England*, or return to his obedience to his Majesty; so that foreseeing discreetly, he should at last become a prey to those who had undertaken his defence, and considering that it is the property of a wise man to prevent other people, and not attend till they be circumvented themselves, and to return with security to his own Countrey, and obedience to his natural Sovereign, rather then plunge his Name and Family in perpetual Infamy, he resolv'd to surrender all into His Majesties hands.

The Lieutenancy of all these Governments was confirm'd upon Monsieur *d'Estrades*, a Person of tried integrity and experience.

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The Lieutenancy of *Brouage* was given to Monsieur *Champfleury*; that of *Oleron* to Monsieur *de St. Leonard*; the Fort of *Preda* in the Isle of *Rhe* to the Sieur *de Louches*, and the Towers of *Rochel* to Sieur *de Aunais*, all four the Cardinals Confidents, with whose contrivances Fortune very courteously corresponding, by his success, and his wisdom together, he managed things so well, the effects still rendred his Actions most commendable and glorious.

Mazarine was in the mean time contriving all ways most probable to reduce the minds of the discontented, by gentle rather then by violent means; he heaped up great Treasures of money for the payment of the Souldiers, and for the carrying on of the War. The Recruits of the old Troops, and the Levies of new, were not small, nor difficult, in respect that the repu-

reputation of the Cardinal among the Souldiers prevail'd over any interest whatever, they applying themselves with effectual diligence to such ways as might render them grateful, and enable them to merit his favour, which was so exceedingly desired by them all: and this was the cause, that by their fidelity and assistance he undertook such Enterprizes, and succeeded contrary to the opinions of those who were emulous of his honour.

The principal design of the Cardinal, was to calm all intestine Agitations, and reunite the distracted minds of the *French*; and considering, that restoring *France* to its former Amity and Obsequiousness to its King, there would be no further apprehension of any Foreign Power, he addrest himself therefore with the utmost of his industry and his Arms, to reduce *Guienne* to its duty, not omitting

ting what correſpondences he could make with the inhabitants of the Town of *Bourdeaux*, with ſeveral of which he treated to that purpoſe: In the mean time, he gave peremptory Orders, that the River called the *Garonne*, which paſſes by that City, ſhould be ſtopt up, to the end, that perceiving all ſuccour excluded, all Commerce intercepted, and the Kings Army encompaſſing the Town, they might be terrifi'd into a ſurrender, without the hazard of fighting.

The Duke of *Vendoſme* with his Fleet, poſſeſt himſelf of the Paſſes upon the River, and by building of Forts in places of moſt importance, and with his Forces by land, had already beaten off the Princes Troops from ſeveral Poſts; upon which it was reſolv'd in His Majeſties Councel, to tranſmit a new *Amneſty* to the Citizens of that Town, to let them underſtand, that

that notwithstanding the advantages the King had, which rendred affairs almost secure and infallible, yet such was his gracious clemency, that he stood always with his Arms open to receive them again into his favour, who had so ungratefully offended him.

This Amnesty was published and registred in the Parliament, transferr'd to *Agen*, upon which divers Assemblies were held in *Bourdeaux*, in which the most moderate declar'd themselves very sensibly for their Countrey, making it plain and palpable, in what damages aud dangers those subjects would finde themselves involved, who establish't the Fabrick of their contumacy and disobedience upon the foundation of foreign assistance; but the incentives of ambition, and the temerity of the multitude were too potent to be capable of Reason, so that the immen

immerged themſelves over head and ears in their former preſumption, and more particularly thoſe of the *Olmiera*, who perverting the Counſels of the good Citizens, and calling them unfaithful, who with more fidelity and reaſon proſecuted the advantage of the Publick, they rejected all their Counſels and Advice, threatning thoſe who ſpake any thing to the contrary, inſulting the more, by how much they would have them perſwaded that the ſaid Propoſitions were rather an effect of the weakneſs of the Kings Power, then of the ſincerity of his heart.

They believ'd their beſt ſupport was that which was promiſ'd them by the *Spaniard*, who with their money and their inſinuations, gain'd daily upon the Principals of that Counſel and Faction. They preſumed likewiſe, that the *Engliſh* would not neglect ſo favourable

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an occasion of improving their interests in the divisions of *France*, and assisting that City, which was upon the point of establishing it self into a Commonwealth, like another *Rochel*. They hoped the Prince of *Condy*, with his *Flanders* Army would be able to force his way to the very gates of *Paris*, and give them so strong a diversion in those parts, that the Kings forces would not be strong enough to do any thing there, where the Princess, the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville* with their presence, gave so great lustre to the darkness which overspread the Town.

These Considerations were very plausible; and their fair Shew had a great power to effacinate the eyes, even of Prudence it self, so that the spirits of the people were become so obstinately perverse, that the reestablishment

ment of the Kings Authority in those parts, was esteemed a very difficult if not an impossible thing, so strangely were they possest of the irresistable assistance of the *Spaniard*, who with a vast Profusion of money, omitted no provision that might quicken that party, which was so likely to contribute to his Grandeur. But, as private interest for the most part prevails over the publick, and hopes that are only grounded upon appearance, produce the least fruit, so the *Bourdelots* in time found it true to their Costs. For though they dispatcht their Deputies to *London*, to that Parliament and *Cromwell*, to represent of what importance it was to *England* to assist them at that time, and to foment the divisions in *France*; and though the *English* understood their interest well enough, and were likewise inclined to their assistance, yet those in-

inclinations were overweighed by other reflexions, relating more to their future then to their present advantage.

The *English* at that time were at Wars with the *Hollander*, and their new Government stood upon too tottering a foundation, to embark in such mighty designes. The consideration, that the ruine of *France* would be the aggrandishment of *Spain*, (which was always a more implacable enemy to their Religion) made them recollect that a rupture with *France* at that time would not suit with their present affairs, in respect that the *French* accommodating (as probably in that case they would do) with the Crown of *Spain*, they would be able by a Conjunction afterwards with *Holland*, and by the intelligence they had with the *English*, who for the most part submitted to that new Government, for want

want of power to dispute it any longer) they might bring King *Charles* once more into that Kingdom, and pull that slautry and confusion upon their own backs, which they design'd upon their Neighbours: whereupon their resolution being to foment the differences betwixt the two Crowns equally, and with such Artifice, that should harrase and weaken one another, and not engage themselves wholly with one, which would be the way to drive them to a Peace, the people of *Bourdeaux* had but small hopes or expectation of assistance from *England*.

Besides these, there was another reason more secret and intrinsick then the rest; and that was a private design which *Cromwell* had to reform that Government, which he knew well enough, (not suiting with his

signs) to be of no long duration; so that it was not convenient for him to engage in any foreign troubles, whilst the discontents and emulations at home gave him such employment both for his Counsels and Armes. Yet though President *Bourdeaux* the *French* Embassador at *London* assur'd his Master, that the *English* would conserve the Peace, and continue their intelligence with that Crown; nevertheless, the people of *Bourdeaux* did not absolutely despair, but that at length some resolution would be taken for their relief, flattering themselves, that when the peace with the *Hollander* (at that time in Agitation) should be concluded, and those differences compos'd, they would apply themselves to their interests and support.

In the mean time the *Spaniard* used all possible Art to propagate their

their troubles, and make his advantage thereby. But his *Indian* Fleet being insufficient, and his Treasure at home too small to satisfie all sollicitations, and maintain War in so many places; besides, the Kingdoms and States under the dominion of that Monarchy, being almost depopulate with long Wars, and by consequence unable to afford them sufficient supplies of men, they were forc't to address themselves to the *English* for a certain number out of *Ireland*, which were immediately rais'd and transported, to evacuate that Countrey of such persons as were *Catholicks*, and ill-affected to the new Commonwealth. *In Germany* and other parts they could make no levies at all; insomuch that being uncapable of making any benefit of so benigne a Conjuncture, it made the weakness of the *Spaniard* more then

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ordinarily conſpicuous.

To the reinforcement of the Princes party 2000 *Iriſh* were ſent at ſeveral times into *Guienne*. The Marqueſs of *Santa Croce* had Orders to refit the Navy in the Bay of *Biſcay*, the Baron *Batteville* to beat up his drums for men, and to provide Ammunition and all Accommodation for their ſpeedy return into the *Garonne*; beſides which, large Promiſes, and a conſiderable ſum of ready money was ſent to *Bourdeaux*, and into *Flanders* to haſten new Levies, and reinforce thoſe Armies, that by the aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Condy* and his party, they might be able to make a vigorous Inroad upon the *French* on that ſide, whilſt the forces of *Bourdeaux* gave them ſtrong and conſiderable diverſion on the other.

The money which was remitted was very welcom to thoſe that had

had the good fortune to receive it; who, for the most part, misapplied it, and converted to their own, what was intended for the publick use; by which means the designes and deliberations of the Catholick Court, were not only retarded, but oftimes precipitated; for being so remote from those Provinces in which the War was carried on, it could not contribute nor proportion its Recruits, according to the suddenness and variety of the Accidents which hapned; an inconvenience of great importance to that Crown, by which the wisest and most prudent of their resolutions have been many times enervated and lost.

To these Reasons another may be added, and that is that the Royal Council of *Spain* was from time to time deluded by the successive relations they receiv'd from

the *French* in their service, who (magnifying the power and interest of their party, and villifying that of the Kings) fill'd the heads even of the gravest of them, with vain and impertinent hopes, and they taking their measures accordingly, found themselves at last not only mistaken, but involv'd in greater difficulties then before.

On the other side, the *French* being an united and entire body, able to derive Orders immediatly to its several members; and being animated and directed in their affairs by Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Person of miraculous knowledge in the nature and interest of all Nations; no wonder, if he knew how to make his advantages, and apply remedies to the maladies of that Country, which without his Judgment and dilligence, would by degrees have grown incurable.

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In the mean time then, whilst in the Court of *Spain* they were contriving expedients to foment the troubles in *France*; and in *France* the Cardinal was as busie to re-invigorate the declining Grandeur of that Kingdom: the Generals of the Armies on both sides, omitted no opportunities that might advance the interest of their several Princes. The Count *Marcin*, General for the Prince of *Conde* in *Guienne*, desirous to enlarge his Quarters, by the taking in of such places as were most easie to be attaqu'd, he commanded out Colonel *Baltassar* with 800 *Irish*, to fall upon *Grenada* on the *Garonne* in the County of *Grave*, as a place which would facilitate his passage into the County's of *Armaniack* and *d' Auches*: The Sieur *Baz* endeavor'd to possess himself of a Pass upon the River call'd *La douxand*, hoping to force the Chevalier

de Aubeterre to abandon those places, that he might enter with great profit and advantage to himself and his Party: But Monsieur *de Aubeterre*, having intelligence of his design, with a Party of 300 Horse, and some commanded Musquetiers, fell so suriously upon his Forlorn (which consisted of some select Horse and Foot drawn out of their Gross) that without so much as drawing a sword, they betook themselves to their heels, part of them being drown'd in the River, and part taken Prisoners by the enemy.

The inhabitants of *Sarlat*, being much infested by the Garrisons belonging to the Princes, took heart at this good success, and signifi'd to the Marquess of *Sovebeuf*, that if he pleas'd to advance at a certain time with his Troops, they would receive him into the Town by a private Water-course which ran

ran under the Town-wall: but that design miscarrying, the Towns-men attempted to corrupt some of the Officers of the Garrison, whom they perceiv'd discontented with their General; and having concluded an intelligence with them: they gave notice thereof to the Duke of *Candale*, who sending them a party of four hundred men under the Command of the Count *Marin*: On the 23. of *May*, an houre before-day, they were receiv'd by the Sieur *Boreel*, Advocate and Counsellor for the City, where having joyn'd with what forces could be made in the Town, they march'd immediately to the Bishops Palace, where *Chavagnac* was quartered at that time. *Chavagnac* being awak'd with the noise, leap'd out of his bed, and endeavor'd to escape in his shirt; but he was pursued by the Citizens and taken

Prisoner. The main Guard in the Market-place made some little defence, till the Sieur *Boismale*, their Lieutenant Colonel, three Captains, and other inferiour Officers were slain. *Chambelloy* their Camp-Master, *della Roche* their Field-Marshal, and the rest of the Officers who had barricadoed themselves up in the houses, surrendred, and voluntarily took up Arms for the King.

This fortunate Acquisition was seconded by the taking in of several other places and walled Towns, in which the Princes forces were quartered: so that the Kings Army advancing towards *Bordeaux* on all sides, and the City every day streightned more then other, the sober and more provident part of them, were in no little distraction to consider the consequences which were too likely to follow, they foresaw, that without a sudden and

a vigorous ſupply (the Kings Army encreaſing daily as it did) all would in a ſhort time be reduc'd to the utmoſt extremity.

The City of *Bordeaux* was at this time capable of relief but two ways, either from *England* or *Spain*. To which end the Sieur *de Couppes*, and Count *Marſin*'s Secretary were diſpatch'd to Saint *Sebaſtian*, and from thence to the Court of *Spain* to ſollicit the performance of their Promiſes made for the ſupport of thoſe Parts, which being the moſt expos'd of all the Provinces and Cities in *France*, brought *Bordeaux* into a *dilemma* of becoming a prey to thoſe that fought againſt it, or thoſe which defended it.

In the mean time, the Sieur *de Saint Agolin* had not been wanting in his ſolicitations in *Spain*, to preſs the diſpatch of their Fleet, and the ſupplies of money which had been

bin promis'd, and at last practis'd in the name of his Master the Prince of *Condy*, that unless a considerable sum was sent before the last of that month (which was *February*) he should be constrain'd to depart. They had already disburs'd 100000 Crôwns, which they had sent to *Bordeaux*; but upon the Arrival of *de Chouppes*, who was immediately followed by a Deputy from the Counsel of *Olmiera*: the Court of *Spain* being fully inform'd of the danger all *Guienne* was in, by the vigilancy of Cardinal *Mazarin*, they immediately dispatch'd 30000 Pistols to *Biscay*, with peremptory Orders to put forth six of their most considerable Ships, and four Fireships, with all possible diligence, that they might force their way into the *Garonne*, and oppose themselves against the *French*.

The said Persons were likewise im-

immediatly returned with 150000 Crowns more for the Prince of *Conde*; and becauſe it was conceived, that the Sieur *Lenet* had not obſerv'd the reſpect which was due to the Prince of *Conty*, by reaſon of his particular intimacy and correſpondence which he held with *Conte Marſin*, who had no great veneration for the ſaid Prince; there were Inſtructions given by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters, which way they ſhould conduct themſelves for the future, in the maintenance and ſupport of the *Condean* Party. But the Count *d' Ognon*'s Accommodation with the King of *France*, did not a little ſtartle *Don Lewis de Haro*, and the reſt of the Grandees of the Council; the foundation they had laid upon the fidelity of this Cavalier, (who had franckly undertaken the defence of *Guienne*) being taken away, and no grounds left for any future

future resolution, by reason of the inconstancy of the *French*, who would promise the highest fidelity one day, and the next day leave them in the lurch. So that the Kings party increasing hourly in those parts, and the Princes growing every day weaker, their apprehensions could not but be very great; nevertheless, in this very Exigence, the Court of *Spain* fail'd not to send their Orders, to suggest their Counsels, to transmit Men and Money, as far as the utmost of their power and ability would extend.

Not long after, the *Baron Batteville* represented to the Court the difficulty of getting in to the *Garonne*, unless he were reinforc'd with a much stronger Squadron of Ships. Twenty thousand Crowns were immediatly dispatch'd to him with new Orders to ship himself upon the aforesaid six

Men

Men of war and to put 500 *Irish* into *Bordeaux*: But affairs changing daily their face, it was necessary to change Counsels as often, and *Batteuille* being unable to execute them without further supplies, their Commands were received oftner then put in execution.

After this, the Marquess of *Lusignan* was dispatch'd in great haste from *Bordeaux* to *Madrid*, where he Arrived in *May*. The pretence of this Embassy was to complement his Catholick Majestie, upon the recovery of the Queen, who had had the small Pox, with great danger of her life, besides the King himself had been ill five or six days of a Feaver: But the intrinsick reason was the soliciting for fresh forces in respect the *French* had made themselves Masters of the *Garonne*, and fortified it so, that it would be no easy matter to remove

them

them; and by consequence the Kings Army increasing without interruption, as it did, it must needs follow that *Bourdeaux* must be lost.

Lusignan had many fair Promises, 200000 Crowns were deliver'd to him, and the Dispatches for the Ships from *Port de Passage* consigned to him: Not long after, that design being look'd upon as impossible, *Battiville* had new Instructions, if it were possible, to get into *Bourdeaux* by the Lake of *Arcazon*, with all imaginable diligence, to keep that people in their fidelity, and support as much as in him lay, the drooping spirits of the Prince of *Conty*, and the rest of the Officers in his Party. He had Orders moreover to propose three things to them, *viz.* Whether they would have the *Spanish* Fleet force its way up the River

Garonne,

Garonne, and fight them; Whether they would have them clap before the Mouth of the River, and lie there; Or whether they thought it not more convenient for them to cruse along the Coasts of *Britain* and *Normandy*; and by alarming them in those parts, give them a diversion in *Guienne*.

Nine hundred more *Irish* were dispatch'd into *Guienne*, and Letters sent Post to the Arch-Duke, and the Ministers in *Flanders*, that they should take the Field with all Expedition, that they should supply the Prince of *Condy* with 200000 Crowns more for the reinforcement of his Troops, to put him into a Condition to march immediatly for *France*.

The *Spaniard* considering, that *Mazarine* being in all likelihood thereby constrained, to draw down what force he could make against that Invasion, would not be able to

to pursue his Enterprizes against *Guienne*, but by consequence give them opportunity to make Provisions for the defence of that Province. But neither in this could the *Spaniard* compass his design; for the Ship which carried the 300000 Crowns into *Flanders*, to hasten that Affair, falling unluckily into the hands of the *English*, they made no scruple to to seize upon it, (though the King of *Spain* was at that time in Amity with that Nation) and to stop the Ship likewise for some time, it being a *Dutch* bottom.

Nor was this Miscarriage to be imputed to the negligence of the Ministers, but to the uncertainty of humane accidents, which many times run counter, though managed and contrived by the best Counsels in the World.

Besides these sums, 30000 Pistols more were sent to the Fleet, with

with expreſs Orders to *Batteville*, to try all ways of introducing himſelf into the *Garonne*, and open a Paſſage into the Town; to which end, and no other, that ſum was intended.

At the ſame time, the Count *de Fieſco* and ſeveral other perſons went alſo into *Spain*, to repreſent the neceſſities of thoſe parts, and to ſollicit for relief. But ſome are of opinion, the chief end of theſe journeys, was to receive Preſents and Gratuities, which the King of *Spain* diſtributed very liberally to all *French*-men that came to his Court; ſo that many pretended to joyn with him, more to be nibling at his money, then out of any true ſervice they intended him; and it is believ'd, that if the money he in this manner diſtributed among the *French*-men, were fairly computed, it would appear ſufficient to have conquered a whole King-

Kingdom; and yet either by their treachery or inexperience, all these vast sums were utterly lost, and these great preparations become entirely ineffectual.

In the mean time the Duke of *Vandosme*, was employ'd in hastening the building of *Cæsars* Fort upon the *Garonne*, as likewise another in the Countrey betwixt the two Seas, beginning above *Vallier*, before the house of *Alinet*, who considering of what importance it would be, to interrupt the Communication betwixt the several Posts belonging to the Prince, and the Town of *Bordeaux*, if he could possess himself of *Lermont*, which was situate exactly upon the mouth of the River, and Garrison'd by 500 *Irish*, under the Command of Colonel *Dillon*; On the 26. of *May* he caused the *Tertia's* of Monsieur *Milleray* and *Normandy*, to be drawn out and

ship'd

ſhip'd in ſuch Galleys and Brigantines as he had ready, under the Command of the Chevalier *d' Albret* hisCamp-Maſter, who with others being embark'd, they ſally'd forth by the favour of the Tyde, againſt the Galliots which lay under that place.

Being arriv'd, there disbarqu't the Count of *Comminges*, the Lieutenant General, the two Brothers, the Count and Baron of *Monteſſon*, the Baron of *Croix* Camp-Maſter, and Sir *George Carteret*, who (as they ſay) perſwaded the Governour of the place, to take upArms with his whole Party for the King of *France*. They agreed upon the paiment of 7500Franks to deliver up the Town, and it was done accordingly, for the *Iriſh* Soldiers being much diſcontented, and looking upon themſelves as ſold to the *Spaniards* like ſo many ſlaves, did not hold themſelvs oblig'd to them by any faith or duty in the world.

The

The rest indeed had followed their Example, out of a scruple they had taken up, that they could not in conscience serve the *Spaniard*, because of the League and Amity at that time betwixt them and the *English*, to whom they were profest enemies. But *Marsin* foreseeing the danger, had provided very politickly against it, by confirming the Officers of their *Tertia*'s to put Hostages into his hands.

The loss of *Lermont* was a cooling Card to the *Bordelots*, it being of such importance, that by the taking of it, the Kings Army intercepted the benefit of the River, in the dominion of which their loss or security consisted.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the King desisted not from his Overtures of Peace, with the milder sort of his Rebels, and that in such manner as gave them more

more aſſurance of his Pardon, then ſuſpicion of his revenge; ſo that in the Month of *May* he publiſh'd another General *Amneſty*, in ſuch terms as demonſtrated his inclination to be leſs vindicative then merciful. Upon this Proclamation the *Bonrdelots* call'd a General Aſſembly in the Town-Hall, where it was conſulted, Whether it was better to accept of this Act of Oblivion, and put an end to their miſeries, or perſiſt in their Contumacy. The ſober part was of opinion, it was more expedient for ſubjects to live in obedience to their natural Prince, then in the ſhadow of liberty under a ſtranger. The fear of the *Olmiera* made every body ſtartle, yet in private, things were largely debated by ſome of the *Olmieſti*; but the obſtinacy of the Populacy, could not be over-ruled by any politick conſiderations. As if they had been all

all bewitch'd by the *Spaniards*, they were possest with an opinion that they should be set at liberty immediately; they perswaded themselves they should have whatever they desir'd: they believ'd nothing but what agreed with their own imaginations; and concluding they had that sure in their own hands, which was but the false reflexion of the Artifice of the Princes; they resolv'd, That no Amnesty should be propos'd or accepted, but such in which the consent and satisfaction of the Prince of *Condy* should concur, for whose sake they had taken Arms, and brought the War home to their own doors; and if any should be so audacious to deliver his opinion to the contrary, as a Traitor to his Countrey, he was to be thrown headlong into the River. They argued, that the Offers made them by the Court, was

was but the effect of their weakness, and the product of necessity, rather then any Compassion to them; and in that mind they supposed themselves able to justify their disobedience to the King; especially if by their sollicitations in *England*, they could prevail with *Cromwell* to undertake their defence, they doubted not in that case, but under his protection they should be able to vindicate their liberty, and shake off their Dependance upon their natural Prince. But these being the dictates of fury and passion, rather then rational deductions, it was not long before they found themselves deceived by the vanity of their imaginations.

The Court of *France* perceiving therefore all the ways they had taken, to sweeten the obstinacy and fierceness of the people, to be absolutely ineffectual,

they gave themselves over to a resolution of acting with all severity and vigor against that Rebellious City.

Orders were sent to that end, that by streightning it on all sides, it should be necessitated to return to its duty, seeing no other way was like to succeed. Above all, they were to secure the River, against whatever attempt should be made by the *Spaniard*, for if they could cut off the benefit of that from them, the City would be desperate in a short time; especially if they could keep things in that posture till the Vintage was over, for that being in the power of the Kings Army, and to be destroyd or intercepted by them as they pleas'd, there could be no greater loss nor punishment befal them, the Estates of the chiefest Citizens in the Town consisting prin-

principally in the plenty and excellence of their Wines, which they selling yearly to the *English*, *Hollander*, and other Northern Nations, afforded them very considerable profit.

But because it was necessary likewise, to provide for the Frontiers towards *Flanders*, where the Prince of *Condy* (joyn'd with the *Spaniards*) made Extraordinary preparations, boasting of what he would do that Campagne, by means of the places he held in the Province of *Champania*, and the intelligence he had settled with his friends in *Paris*, towards which City he gave out he would march directly. The *Cardinal* with no less dililigence provided to prevent him; making all provisions to oppose him; he consider'd that all consisted in the unity of the forces of that Kingdom; That his greatest

difficulty would be to preserve himself against his enemies at home; That if he could not reduce the Prince of *Condy* to his Allegiance, (whose mind was elated with high hopes and advantages, he expected from *Spaine*) it would be his best way by all possible means to lessen his party and reputation in *France*, so as he might be left as it were a bare Commander of *Spaniards*, who being to recompence him for the losses he received in *France*, and to maintain him in the Quality of first Prince of the blood, would be weary of him by degrees, and he become a greater burden to that Crown, then a Compleat and intire Army.

Two things therefore were more especially under the Cardinals consideration; one, to reduce what places he had in his possession in *France*; the other, was to debauch his

his friends away from him: in purſuance of this deſign, a General Pardon was publiſh'd to all ſuch as ſhould before a prefix'd time return to their obedience. The Count *de Tavanes*, who had been very zealouſly engaged with the ſaid Prince, upon ſome particular diſſatisfaction return'd to his houſe, upon whoſe example ſeveral others of the Princes Adherents fell off likewiſe.

In the mean time the Prince of *Condy* ſeem'd to be unconcern'd at what paſt, though, to ſpeak truth, he wanted wherewithal to recompence, or repair the loſſes his friends receiv'd in their own Countrey, the ſupplies he had from *Spain* being too ſmall for his own private expences, much leſs to remunerate thoſe who had ſerved him. He would have complied notwithſtanding, if the King's Council could have been brought

to condescend to his termes, which in that case it is possible he would have moderated; but, as when he had a numerous train of discontented persons attending him; it was then of importance to reconcile him; so now when he was as it were alone, and abandoned by all of them, it was not thought necessary to continue their applications; forasmuch as in that condition he would be rather a trouble and expence to the *Spaniards*, then of any use and advantage: so that according to the Cardinals Judgment, there was less danger in remaining abroad then in his return; for being a Prince ambitious of honour and reputation, he supposed he could hardly comport with the *Spaniards*, who were no less ambitious then himself; and that the frankness and liberty of the *French*, would not accommodate with

with their gravity and reſervedneſs. The Prince was of an humour ſo haughty and diſdainful, it could not but become odious to the Grandees of *Spain*, who ſtood much upon the Ceremony and Punctilio; beſides the natural antipathy betwixt the Nations; and his ignorance in their Language muſt of neceſſity produce ſome inconveniences, ſeeing he could not ſpeak ſo as to make himſelf underſtood or obey'd by the ſeveral Nations in the *Spaniſh* Army. And if it ſhould ſo happen, that by his extraordinary valour he ſhould atchieve any thing extraordinary, it would but make them jealous and emulous of his glory, and let his Actions be what they would, he ſhould be always look'd upon in *Spain*, not only as a Foreigner, but as a Conſpicuous Prince of an Enemies Countrey, who might every moment

find out some way or other to regain him if they pleas'd.

But if his fortune should be adverse, his loss would be accompanied with disdain and regret, for having consumed as much gold for the support of one person, as would have sufficed to have maintained a whole Army. So that whenever the Prince came to any difference or rupture with the *Spaniard*, it must needs redound to the advantage of *France*, because in that case it would fall out, either the *Spaniards* would destroy him, or he ruine the *Spaniard*; so that the leaving the Prince still in their hands would be so great a burden to them, that in stead of giving them the assistance they expected, he would be an impediment and obstruction to all their deliberations.

Again, if the Prince should be restor'd, and the affairs of *France*

suc-

ſucceed to advantage, the honour would be attributed wholly to his conduct; and adding new luſtre to his former reputation, he would be able to eclipſe the glory of other people; ſo that reaſſuming his old ſentiments of giving, not receiving Lawes, the good Government would becom confuſed and diſtracted, which under a Monarchy ought to acknowledge but one Maſter: beſides which, they ſhould want occaſion to evince, that in *France* there were other Captains as conſiderable as he, contrary to what the Royal Council of *Spain* had given out. The King of *France*, out of his inexpreſſible clemency would have condeſcended to have received the Prince again into his favour, if without concerning himſelf in the affairs of that Kingdom, he could have reſolved to have retired out of *France* into ſom unſuſpected State,

and quietly enjoy the profits of his Revenue, till the War were ended. But being in the flower of his Age, and accustomed to command, he was too passionately addicted to honor (which is acquir'd by labour and pains) to make himself a slave to his own quiet and repose.

Upon these Maxims the *French* interest being managed, and the Cardinal proceeding with all courtesie and demonstration of kindness, his Ministery being full of sweetness and Moderation, (pretending to revenge himself no further of his enemies, then by making himself known to be a good man and a vertuous, the acrimony and disgust at his Administration (which had been infus'd into the fancies of the people, by a few seditious persons,) began to clear up and dispel. The first effects of this alteration was seen in

Paris,

Paris, where his Reputation having been more wounded then in any other part of the Kingdom; the Citizens touch't with Remorse for what they had done, thought themselves obliged to make some publick manifestation of their Repentance, which they perform'd by inviting him on the 29, of *March* 1653. to a most sumptuous Dinner in the Town-Hall, an honour seldom shewn in *France*, but to some great Prince.

The Cardinal went thither, accompanied by several Grandees of the Court, and the Principals of the Counsel of the Communalty of *Paris*) where he receiv'd a Dinner so pompously prepar'd, and serv'd up with so great demonstration of affection from the people, (with whom the great *Piazza* called the *Greve*, was full) that I my self being there in curiosity among the rest, heard his name very

very frequent among their Acclamations, heard them applaud his management, and curse those who had misrepresented him, with an astonishment equal to the facility wherwith those animals pass from one extream of contempt, to the other of honor and esteem.

The Cardinal appear'd to them several times at the window, and caused several sorts of money to be thrown out among them, who return'd their thanks in extraordinary Applauses: The Citizens drank his health very often, and did him all the Honors could be exprest to a chief Minister. Whilst he was at Dinner, the Rooms, and Hall were as full of the Citizens Wives as they could hold, who were come thither as fine as they could make themselves, to behold a man, who (as they call'd him) was the Miracle of Nature, The Cardinal treated them with all

all imaginable Civility, distributing Sweet-meats and other Junkets amongst them in abundance: When he went down the stairs he stop'd very often, discoursing somtimes with one, and somtimes with another; and though he was then in the sight of the whole *Piazza*, there was not one of the unruly and insolent multitude which gave him the least ill word, but all saluted him with benedictions and well-wishes for his health; with the same noise and acclamation they follow'd him to his Coach, only one of them was observd to cry, *Per mia fe voi non sete* Mazarino *ma un honorato huomo*, In my conscience you are not *Mazarine*, but an honest Gentleman. Every one strove to see him, and to be seen by him; Their Augury was good, and the event was suitable, their happy Annunciations corresponding in their effects, for the Prince of *Condy*'s Troops under the Command of the Count *de Coligny*,

ligny, being drawn out to fall upon *Couvin*, a little Town upon the River *Noirau*, they were catch'd in an Ambuscade by the Count *de Beaujeu*, cut to pieces; and *Coligny* and others of the principal Officers taken Prisoners, which the Court looking upon as a good *Omen*, concluded the Duke of *Espernon* Governour-General of *Burgundy* should commence the Enterprise against *Bellegard*.

After the Surrender of the Castle of *Dijon*, *Burgundy* was in no small distraction, by the continual excursions of that Garrison that continually infested the Countrey: to restrain their Extravigancies, the aforesaid Duke clapt a Garrison into the Castle of *Pagny*, which was not far off, but wanting strength sufficient to reduce it, he hearkned to certain Propositions made him by the Creatures of the Prince of *Condy*, who

who had ſome thoughts of putting it into his hands, as being very hard to be kept in reſpect of its ſcituation, which was in the midſt of the Kings Provinces. But that treaty being interrupted by the high demands of the Governour thereof theMarqueſs *de Battevillе*, the Duke of *Eſpernon* made Preparations to beſiege it; and being advis'd, that thoſe of the *Franche* County, (though at that time in Neutrality) might break with them, and relieve it, he diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to the Marqueſs *de Saint Martino*, and the Sieur *de Cea*, the principal Directors of his Catholick Majeſties Affairs in that Province, and was aſſured from them, they had no intention nor thought of breaking their Neutrality: Being encourag'd likewiſe by the *Burgundians*, who to draw the thorn out of their own foot, had undertaken to provide

vide them money, and all necessary Provisions for that Enterprize: the Duke past the *Soan* at Saint *Fo. de Losne*: the Marquess of *Uxelles* marched from *Challons* to *Verdun* with what souldiers he could draw out of the adjacent Garrisons, which being rendezvouz'd, amounted in all to about 4000 men, under the Command of the said *Uxelles* and *Roncelleres*, both of them Lieutenant-Generals. On the 19. of *May*, the Duke of *Espernon* possest himself of the Posts of *Chamblanc* and *Pavy*, whilst the other took their stations at *Caselles* and Saint *George*, and beginning their intrenchments, they approach'd with their Artillery, battering it in two several places: and a while after, on the other side of the River, where the Sieur *de St. Quintin* placed himself with 400 Musquetiers, The Besieged defended themselves cou-

couragiouſly, and by frequent Sallies endeavor'd to interrupt the advancement of the Royalliſts towards the Foſs: But *Roncelleres* having got as far as the Counterſcarp, diverted the water, and fill'd up the Ditch with Bavins and Timber, he began a Mine under the Bulwark towards the River: *Batteville* deſpairing of relief; and in no condition to defend himſelf long, ſignified to the Duke, that amongſt Chriſtians it was never the Cuſtom to proceed to an aſſault before Summons was given; and therefore he deſir'd to know, upon what grounds he was ſo ſeverely dealt with. The Duke of *Eſpernon* replied, that that indeed was the Practice againſt lawful enemies, but not againſt Rebels; and that he was reſolv'd not to defer the aſſault, ſeeing his Troops were then ready to fall on: but being perſwaded from that

aſperity

asperity by the Officers of his Army, as a thing which many times precipitate men into despair, he comply'd; more for the preservation of his own, then any Compassion for the enemie; so that upon the 8. of *June*, the Articles being signed, *Batteville* march'd out of the Town with 700 men, upon very honourable Conditions, and was conducted to *Stenay*. The *Burgundians* were very much consolated with the reducement of this Town: for by that they acquired the peace and tranquillity of their whole Province: the Duke of *Espernon* according to his Promise, caused it to be dismantled, whereby the passage of the *Sona* was left open, and the people excus'd from the great Contributions they would have been necessitated to pay the Garrison, to keep them from plundring, and the ill treatment of the Soldiers.

The

The Army which took in this Town, was divided afterwards, and part of it sent to the Mareschal *Turenne*, who was then preparing with all speed, and almost ready to take the field; the rest were commanded to the Mareschal *della Ferte Senetera*, who was at that time upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*; and had taken several Castles from the Enemie in the Territories of *Verdun*.

These good Beginnings were followed by an Exploit (as bold as unexpected) perform'd by the Count *Broglia*, Governour of *la Bassee*, a Captain of great fame and experience. He had Intelligence, that the Troops which were quartered at *Esterre*, *de la Goruge*, and the Posts adjacent, (intended to be employ'd, in the Army of the Prince of *Condy*) were most of them drawn away to a General Rendezvouz, and that there re-

remain'd in their quarters not above 700 *Irish* Foot under the Command of Colonel *Morphi*, and about 70 Horse under the Baron of *Lambech*: upon this Intelligence he march'd out of *la Bassee*, with 400 Firelocks, and a hundred Horse, and by a Bridge of Boats pass'd the River *Lis*, betwixt *E'sterre* and *Armentiers*, and fell into the quarters of *Morphi's* Regiment; he commanded the Sieur *de Avogadre* Camp-Master to the Regiment of *Piemont*, to pass the River with some Firelocks, whilst he kept his Post with his Horse, and the remainder of his Foot on the other side, to relieve them as a reserve upon any occasion. On the 13 of *June* about midnight, the Sieur *de la Treo* Serjeant-Major of the Town of *la Bassee*, advanc'd with a hundred Firelocks, and charged them so briskly, that though their opposi-

tion

on was very good, he beat them into the Church, where they defended themselvs afterwards for above two hours; but at last the Royalists having secur'd the door, the *Irish* which were 300 soldiers, 7 Captains with other inferiour Officers) were glad to surrender and becom prisoners of War, Colonel *Morphi* saved himself by the benefit of the night. From thence the Count advanc'd to the Fort, but he found it forsaken, and having march'd up and down the Neighboring Villages, he return'd to *la Bassee* with considerable booty.

These Rumours awakened the Prince of *Condy*, and doubtless he would without delay have taken the Field, had not the taking of the 300000 Royals by the *English* (as abovesaid) retarded the provisions of Horse, which were with that money to have been bought, both for the remounting his Cavalry, and

for his Train of Artillery, which were supply'd afterwards in *Holland*, but with great difficulty.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, taking the advantage of this Conjuncture, he caus'd the Mareschal *Turenne*, (after he had commanded his Troops into the Countrey about *Reims*) to depart out of *Paris* the 14. of *June*; and there in a certain place, not far from *Chillery* in *Champagnia*, having consulted what course he was to take with the Mareschal *de la Ferte Seneterra*, who at the same time had drawn down his forces about *Verdun*, it was resolv'd they should fall upon *Rhetel*, and endeavour by the taking of that place, to cut off the Princes advance into *Champagnia*, which being an open Countrey, and very plentiful in corn, it was too probable he would otherwise have done to his great advantage. *Turenne* advanc'd to *Chasteau Porcien*,

cien, and clapt himself in betwixt *Rhetel* and *Chaumont*; This is a Castle in which the *Spaniards* had a Party of Foot, and some 60 Horse, who at the very first sight of the Kings forces, rendred themselves up Prisoners of War, without further Conditions. The Mareschal *de la Ferte* came on the other side the River *Aisne*, thorow the *Valle di Bourg*, and having drawn up their men in the fields of *Chaumont*, they advanc'd against the Town, on two sides, and that very night the Regiments of *Picardie*, *Turenne* and *Palvan*, possest themselves of all the out-works, and raisd two Batteries, one against the Gate towards *Rocroy*, (on which side *Turenne* was quartred) the other at the Gate by the River, within the quarters of *la Ferté*.

In the Town there were 600 men Commanded by the Marquess

quess *de Persan*, who ran great hazard of being taken prisoner in the night, at the taking of the outworks. Within two days time they made two breaches so large, that they prepar'd to give the assault, but in the mean time the Town capitulated, surrendred, and were Convoy'd with two Pieces of Cannon to *Stenay*.

Mareschal *Turenne* left the Sieur *Boda* Governour of the Town, with his *Tertia* of *French* Foot, and march'd himself to observe the motions of the Prince of *Condy* and the *Spaniard*, who during this Leagure were joyn'd at *Hayes d'Auvenes*, having been retarded in their *Campagne*, both by their want of Horses, as abovesaid, and also by a Negotiation they had with a Citizen of *Arras* for the surprize of that City. But the same Person held Intelligence likewise with the Cardinal, as he had done with the

the Prince, to gain money on both ſides.

This Correſpondence was began the Year before, and continued till the Prince found himſelf deluded and cheated at ſeveral times of about 2000 Piſtols. The *French* having notice, that the *Spaniard* had not yet their Forces united to engage the *French* Army (which was then numerous and flouriſhing) till they were reinforc'd, which they moſt ſollicitouſly endeavor'd: by expreſs Order from the Cardinal, they advanc'd againſt the Prince, with full reſolution to attaque him; But he had drawn up his Army betwixt two Woods behind a ſtreight Paſs, by which means he prevented being fallen upon in a diſadvantageous place; as it might have hapned, had it bin but one half houre longer, before he had had the News of the *French* Army. The Mare-

schals him in so good a posture return'd to their Posts, and afterwards march'd towards *Vervins*, passing thorough certain Villages not far from the Abby of *Tougny*, they drew near to *Vervens* about *Proussy*, and thence coasting by *Guise*, they encamp'd at *Riblemont*, to observe the motion of the enemy, who, being reinforc'd with the *Lorrain* Troops, and other supplies from *Flanders*, did principally design to make an Inroad into *France*, upon presumption that at their first appearance many would declare for them: The *French* Generals, being inferiour in number, were oblig'd for that reason to be more wary and circumspect, and to have a care how they ran the risk of a Battel, which if it went cross, would be more dangerous in the consequences, then in their present loss.

The

The Cardinals design was to protract time, and to set the Affairs of the Kingdom to rights, by the reduction of *Bourdeaux*; to incapacitate the Prince to raise new troubles by the assistance or intelligence of his friends, and to let the *Spaniards* at length see they were mistaken in the opinion they had conceived of that Juncture to ruine *France*, and the confidence they had reposd in the reputation and interest of the Prince in his own Countrey, that being the principal mark to which all their Councils were directed, it seeming unlikely to the Court of *Spain*, that that Crown of it self, with its States and Kingdoms, so distant and depopulated, should act any thing with advantage against *France*, whilst it was entire and unanimous;

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aſperity

vide them money, and all necessary Provisions for that Enterprize: the Duke past the *Soan* at Saint *Jo. de Losne*: the Marquess of *Uxelles* marched from *Challons* to *Verdun* with what souldiers he could draw out of the adjacent Garrisons, which being rendezvouz'd, amounted in all to about 4000 men, under the Command of the said *Uxelles* and *Roncelleres*, both of them Lieutenant-Generals. On the 19. of *May*, the Duke of *Espernon* possest himself of the Posts of *Chamblanc* and *Pavy*, whilst the other took their stations at *Caselles* and Saint *George*, and beginning their intrenchments, they approach'd with their Artillery, battering it in two several places: and a while after, on the other side of the River, where the Sieur *de St. Quintin* placed himself with 400 Musquetiers. The Besieged defended themselves cou-

couragiouſly, and by frequent Sallies endeavor'd to interrupt the advancement of the Royalliſts towards the Foſs: But *Roncelleres* having got as far as the Counterſcarp, diverted the water, and fill'd up the Ditch with Bavins and Timber, he began a Mine under the Bulwark towards the River: *Batteville* deſpairing of relief; and in no condition to defend himſelf long, ſignified to the Duke, that amongſt Chriſtians it was never the Cuſtom to proceed to an aſſault before Summons was given; and therefore he deſir'd to know, upon what grounds he was ſo ſeverely dealt with. The Duke of *Eſpernon* replied, that that indeed was the Practice againſt lawful enemies, but not againſt Rebels; and that he was reſolv'd not to defer the aſſault, ſeeing his Troops were then ready to fall on; but being perſwaded from that

aſperity

asperity by the Officers of his Army, as a thing which many times precipitate men into despair, he comply'd; more for the preservation of his own, then any Compassion for the enemie; so that upon the 8. of *June*, the Articles being signed, *Batteville* march'd out of the Town with 700 men, upon very honourable Conditions, and was conducted to *Stenay*. The *Burgundians* were very much consolated with the reducement of this Town: for by that they acquired the peace and tranquillity of their whole Province: the Duke of *Espernon* according to his Promise, caused it to be dismantled, whereby the passage of the *Sona* was left open, and the people excus'd from the great Contributions they would have been necessitated to pay the Garrison, to keep them from plundring, and the ill treatment of the Soldiers.

The

The Army which took in this Town, was divided afterwards, and part of it sent to the Mareschal *Turenne*, who was then preparing with all speed, and almost ready to take the field; the rest were commanded to the Mareschal *della Ferte Senetera*, who was at that time upon the Frontiers of *Lorain*; and had taken several Castles from the Enemie in the Territories of *Verdun*.

These good Beginnings were followed by an Exploit (as bold as unexpected) perform'd by the Count *Broglia*, Governour of *la Bassee*, a Captain of great fame and experience. He had Intelligence, that the Troops which were quartered at *Esterre*, *de la Gorge*, and the Posts adjacent, (intended to be employ'd, in the Army of the Prince of *Condy*) were most of them drawn away to a General Rendezvouz, and that there re-

remain'd in their quarters not above 700 *Irish* Foot under the Command of Colonel *Morphi*, and about 70 Horse under the Baron of *Lambech*: upon this Intelligence he march'd out of *la Bassee*, with 400 Firelocks, and a hundred Horse, and by a Bridge of Boats pass'd the River *Lis*, betwixt *E'sterre* and *Armentiers*, and fell into the quarters of *Morphi's* Regiment; he commanded the Sieur *de Avogadre* Camp-Master to the Regiment of *Piemont*, to pass the River with some Firelocks, whilst he kept his Post with his Horse, and the remainder of his Foot on the other side, to relieve them as a reserve upon any occasion. On the 13 of *June* about midnight, the Sieur *de la Treoy* Serjeant-Major of the Town of *la Bassee*, advanc'd with a hundred Firelocks, and charged them so briskly, that though their opposi-

tion

on was very good, he beat them into the Church, where they defended themselvs afterwards for above two hours; but at last the Royalists having secur'd the door, the *Irish* which were 300 soldiers, 7 Captains with other inferiour Officers) were glad to surrender and becom prisoners of War, Colonel *Morphi* saved himself by the benefit of the night. From thence the Count advanc'd to the Fort, but he found it forsaken, and having march'd up and down the Neighboring Villages, he return'd to *la Bassee* with considerable booty.

These Rumours awakened the Prince of *Condy*, and doubtless he would without delay have taken the Field, had not the taking of the 300000 Royals by the *English* (as abovesaid) retarded the provisions of Horse, which were with that money to have been bought, both for the remounting his Cavalry, and

for his Train of Artillery, which were supply'd afterwards in *Holland*, but with great difficulty.

Cardinal *Mazarin*, taking the advantage of this Conjuncture, he caus'd the Mareschal *Turenne*, (after he had commanded his Troops into the Countrey about *Reims*) to depart out of *Paris* the 14. of *June*; and there in a certain place, not far from *Chillery* in *Champagnia*, having consulted what course he was to take with the Mareschal *de la Ferte Seneterra*, who at the same time had drawn down his forces about *Verdun*, it was resolv'd they should fall upon *Rhetel*, and endeavour by the taking of that place, to cut off the Princes advance into *Champagnia*, which being an open Countrey, and very plentiful in corn, it was too probable he would otherwise have done to his great advantage. *Turenne* advanc'd to *Chasteau Porcien*,

cien, and clapt himself in betwixt *Rhetel* and *Chaumont*; This is a Castle in which the *Spaniards* had a Party of Foot, and some 60 Horse, who at the very first sight of the Kings forces, rendred themselves up Prisoners of War, without further Conditions. The Mareschal *de la Ferte* came on the other side the River *Aisne*, thorow the *Valle di Bourg*, and having drawn up their men in the fields of *Chaumont*, they advanc'd against the Town, on two sides, and that very night the Regiments of *Picardie*, *Turenne* and *Palvan*, possest themselves of all the out-works, and rais'd two Batteries, one against the Gate towards *Rocroy*, (on which side *Turenne* was quartred) the other at the Gate by the River, within the quarters of *la Ferté*.

In the Town there were 600 men Commanded by the Marquess

quess *de Persan*, who ran great hazard of being taken prisoner in the night, at the taking of the out-works. Within two days time they made two breaches so large, that they prepar'd to give the assault, but in the mean time the Town capitulated, surrendred, and were Convoy'd with two Pieces of Cannon to *Stenay*.

Mareschal *Turenne* left the Sieur *Boda* Governour of the Town, with his *Tertia* of *French* Foot, and march'd himself to observe the motions of the Prince of *Condy* and the *Spaniard*, who during this Leagure were joyn'd at *Hayes d' Auvenes*, having been retarded in their *Campagne*, both by their want of Horses, as abovesaid, and also by a Negotiation they had with a Citizen of *Arras* for the surprize of that City. But the same Person held Intelligence likewise with the Cardinal, as he had done with the

the Prince, to gain money on both ſides.

This Correſpondence was began the Year before, and continued till the Prince found himſelf deluded and cheated at ſeveral times of about 2000 Piſtols. The *French* having notice, that the *Spaniard* had not yet their Forces united to engage the *French* Army (which was then numerous and flouriſhing) till they were reinforc'd, which they moſt ſollicitouſly endeavor'd: by expreſs Order from the Cardinal, they advanc'd againſt the Prince, with full reſolution to attaque him; But he had drawn up his Army betwixt two Woods behind a ſtreight Paſs, by which means he prevented being fallen upon in a diſadvantageous place; as it might have hapned, had it bin but one half houre longer, before he had had the News of the *French* Army. The Mare-

schals him in so good a posture return'd to their Posts, and afterwards march'd towards *Vervins*, passing thorough certain Villages not far from the Abby of *Tougny*, they drew near to *Vervens* about *Proussy*, and thence coasting by *Guise*, they encamp'd at *Riblemont*, to observe the motion of the enemy, who, being reinforc'd with the *Lorrain* Troops, and other supplies from *Flanders*, did principally design to make an Inroad into *France*, upon presumption that at their first appearance many would declare for them: The *French* Generals, being inferiour in number, were oblig'd for that reason to be more wary and circumspect, and to have a care how they ran the risk of a Battel, which if it went cross, would be more dangerous in the consequences, then in their present loss,

The

The Cardinals design was to protract time, and to set the Affairs of the Kingdom to rights, by the reduction of *Bourdeaux*; to incapacitate the Prince to raise new troubles by the assistance or intelligence of his friends, and to let the *Spaniards* at length see they were mistaken in the opinion they had conceived of that Juncture to ruine *France*, and the confidence they had reposd in the reputation and interest of the Prince in his own Countrey, that being the principal mark to which all their Councils were directed, it seeming unlikely to the Court of *Spain*, that that Crown of it self, with its States and Kingdoms, so distant and depopulated, should act any thing with advantage against *France*, whilst it was entire and unanimous;

for this cause they spared no money, but were many times lavish and profuse in their distributions to the discontented *French*, (who always deceived them with vain hopes and pretences) endeavoring still to draw more of them into rebellion, [illegible]
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to draw [illegible] Princes, they ought to make them expect more then they intended to perform, forasmuch

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asmuch as their custom is, when they are once delivered, to regard them no longer who brought them out of their exigence. Things being acted in this manner, and hastned by the *Spaniard*, in order to the approaching Campaigne, the Princes [illegible] s held [illegible] they [illegible] ief of [illegible] parti- [illegible] *ldagna* [illegible]) pro- [illegible] e most [illegible] *rance*'s. [illegible] which [illegible] ass on, [illegible] main- [illegible] the E- [illegible] ounded [illegible] ler the [illegible] ert Of- [illegible] to send them into *Guienne*, to reinforce the Princes Troops in that Province, and

for this cause they spared no money, but were many times lavish and profuse in their distributions to the discontented *French*, (who always deceived them with vain hopes and pretences) endeavoring still to draw more of them into rebellion, that by that means they might be able, as it were, to compel the *French* to a solid Peace, to which his Catholick Majesty was seriously inclin'd, but could not hope to obtain any other way.

But the effects did not answer Expectation, for placing their hopes upon particular persons more sollicitous of their own then of other peoples advantage, who propos'd only such things as might render themselves necessary to the *Spanish* affaires; founding their principles upon this Maxime, That to draw benefit from Princes, they ought to make them expect more then they intended to perform, for-

asmuch

asmuch as their custom is, when they are once delivered, to regard them no longer who brought them out of their exigence. Things being acted in this manner, and hastned by the *Spaniard*, in order to the approaching *Campagne*, the Princes and Generals of the Armies held many Counsels what way they were to proceed. The chief of of the *Spanish* Officers, and particularly the Count *de Fuensaldagna* (a person of great judgment) propos'd to fall upon some of the most considerable of the King of *France*'s Towns, by the benefit of which they might be enabled to pass on, and upon a solid foundation maintaine the War afterward in the Enemies Country. Some propounded to ship 5 or 6000 men, under the Command of the most expert Officers could be chosen, and to send them into *Guienne*, to reinforce the Princes Troops in that Province,

and support the courage of the *Bourdelots*, thereby to sustein the War in those parts, which was the strongest diversion could be given to the *French* Armes. To that end it was proposed, they should sit down before *Bayon*, and the Princes repair thither with their Troops, which would be more feasible in respect that Colonel *Baltasser* had made himself Master of *Tarsas*. But the hopes that the Reliefe from *Spain* would be sufficient; and having no Orders for dividing their Army in *Flanders*, confuted all those Propositions. The Count of *Fuenseldagne* was of opinion, that laying all other things aside, they should sit down before *Arras*, whilst their Army was fresh, and the Alarmes so hot in other parts of the Kingdom, for which reason he look'd upon the Enterprise not so difficult as other

ther people might imagine, and that the Prince of *Condy* might consent, he offered to give him *Mouson*.

But the Prince insisting upon his Intelligence in *Paris*, prest hard, and upon very good reason, that drawing all their forces together, they should pass the *Soma*, march up to *Paris*, and give their party in that City opportunity to rise, while the Court growing jealous of them, would be easily perswaded to quit the Town, and that in these confusions, their Army advancing to *Mantes*, might possess themselves of all the Countrey about *Pontoise*, Saint *Lis*, and other adjacent Towns, where recruiting themselves with the discontented party, which in probability would throng to him daily, they should reap extraordinary advantage, and foment the Civil War in *France*.

This Proposition was in appearance plausible, and so well represented by the Prince, that the Council were of the same minde, and esteemed that his opinion ought really to be followed, as was seemingly desired by those who applauded his Actions with their tongue, more then by their deeds.

But there were two considerable difficulties objected. The first was that by the loss of *Bellegard* and *Rhetel*, the minds of many people were much dejected, so that there were but few of the opinion, but the King of *France* would be stronger that *Campagne* then the Prince of *Condy*, who had lost two such considerable places, as it were under his Nose, to the great diminution of his credit. The other was, that the *French* Army being come into the Field much stronger then was imagin'd, it was dangerous to pass so many Rivers,

and

and put themſelves into the Enemies Countrey, without any place of Retreat in caſe of diſaſter, whilſt alſo the *Spaniſh* Army was attended by another, though leſs numerous, yet ſuperiour in courage, being all *French*, bold and experienc'd, beſides 4000 *German* Horſe, the remainder of the famous *Waymers* forces, and ſupported by ſeveral ſtrong Towns and Fortreſſes, all firmly devoted to their King. Nevertheleſs, as there is nothing deludes the imagination more then a mans eſteem of himſelf; the Prince of *Condy* was ſo tranſported with an opinion of his Reputation in *France*, he thought that ſufficient to do his buſineſs, without being troubled to fight for't. This opinion therefore was embrac'd, contrary to the judgement of *Fuenſaldagne*, who for two ſecret reaſons, was really averſe. The firſt was, that he be-

believ'd the Princes designs were not upon good foundation, and if they were, it did not consist with the interest of *Spain* to advance them, forasmuch as it was most certain, if he reduc'd the Cardinal to any streight, he would find some way or other to accommodate with him, and then the *Spaniard* would run great hazard of having him engag'd against them, and the troubles in *France* would cease of themselves. The other was, that it was not convenient for him to expose the whole Forces of *Spain*, without a certainty of gaining some considerable place, and with the hazard of some dangerous disgrace, not daring to be too confident in the Prince, who was a *Frenchman*, or in the Duke of *Lorrain*, who the Count of *Fuensaldagne* knew, had his ears always open to any Proposition

ſition of advantage, and might eaſily be gain'd by the Artifice of the Cardinal. Theſe two Reaſons reflecting ſo nearly upon the Prince of *Condy*, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, could not be publickly urged in the Council; and therefore the other opinion prevailing, the *Spaniſh* Army marched towards *Cambray*, from thence to *Crevecoeur*, and came to *Chaſtelet* without interruption, and ſo to *Fonſomme*, where the River *Somma* ariſes, which was but two Leagues diſtant from the *French* Camp,

The *Spaniſh* Army comprehending the Prince of *Condy*'s, and the Duke of *Lorrain*'s forces, conſiſted of 30000 effective men: it was compos'd of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Walloons*, *Dutch*, *Burgundians*, *Flemins*, *Iriſh*, and other Nations, who by the diverſity of their Languages and

and customs were the cause of great confusion in that Camp; Their Train was very great, both for Cannon, Ammunition and Baggage: Here the Prince of *Condy* made a halt for several days in the face of the *French* Camp, passing the time in frequent, but inconsiderable skirmishes with their Horse, which with most exact diligence were kept scouting upon the Roads.

The Princes hopes were impregnated with strong conceit of his Party in *Paris*, by whose assistance he thought his success would be in infallible; but he reckon'd without his Host, for the King being there, and the Cardinal very watchful against the least insurrection, there was not one person durst appear in the City, nor one Officer of those which were banish'd, who durst venture to come into *Paris*, and head the Male-contents,

tents, who wish'd the Prince well in their hearts, though they durst not shew it, his design vanishing *in fumo*, He lost his Reputation among the *Spanish* Commanders, who discover'd him to be without that interest and dependence which he was suppos'd to have in *France*, and which his friends had promis'd upon their Parols. Perplex'd therefore, and in confusion about the resolution they were to take, the Armies confronted one another for several days. The Prince of *Condy* being stronger in number, desir'd by all means to come to a general Engagement; but the *French*, unwilling to hazard themselves on so great a disadvantage, endeavor'd by the benefit of their Incampments, and the convenience of the Fortresses they had thereabouts, to give impediment to their Progress, and make them lose time.

This

This posture of affairs gave occasion to the discovery of the valour and conduct of two Captains, Competitors at that time in point of Glory and Renown; the disadvantage under which the Mareschal *Turenne* then lay, in respect of the disparity of his Numbers, making his Prudence in that Juncture more remarkable then his courage.

But the Cardinals designs proceeded at another rate, his principal Object was to reduce *Bourdeaux* to its obedience; he knew very well, that to secure this part of the Kingdom, would be the safety of the other; His judgment was approved by the whole Council, and resolution was taken to amuse the Prince on the Frontiers of *Picardy*, or *Champagnia*, till the Affairs in *Guienne* were dispatch'd, where all things tended to a fortunate Conclusion, though the means used

aſed in the management were not entirely ſucceſsful.

The Marqueſs *de Theubon*, who had defended with great courage and better fortune the Town of *Villeneuf de Agenois* againſt Count *Harcourt*, diſdaining that Count *Marſin* ſhould arrogate to himſelf the glory of preſerving that City, for that (during an inundation of waters, which had forc'd the Kings Army further off) he had put into it 200 Horſe, as alſo becauſe by his Order, the Houſes of ſome of his Relations were plundred, amongſt which was that of *Colonges*, and of the Marqueſs Dowager of *Villefranca*, which ſaid houſes he had taken into protection, he came to *Bourdeaux* to make his Complaint to the Prince of *Conty*, who intreated him to lay aſide his animoſity at that time, and not to think of revenging himſelf upon *Marſin*; as he had publickly threatned; but neiher that, nor

nor the giving him 500 Crowns by way of Reparation, prevailing, he dispatch'd a Messenger to *Blaye*, to negotiate his Accommodation with the Duke of Saint *Simon* and *Vandosme*, the last of which was newly arrived at that place, the Dukes giving the Cardinal Advice thereof, were required by all means to bring him off, if it were possible, and what other of that Party they could; This business was of importance, and in a fair way to succeed; but the Advocate *Literie*, being banish'd in the *interim*, upon some suspitions, though nothing was perfectly discover'd, that design was for the present laid by. *Theubon* was advised by his friends, and by those that were true servants to the King, to remain in *Bourdeaux*, to make himself Head of that Party in the Town, and never to reconcile himself to *Marsin*, but to study a revenge; for if he

he could be ſo happy as to kill him, he would not only ſatisfie his private reſentment, but put a Concluſion to the War, and perform an Action extreamly meritorious to the publick. Nevertheleſs, being too much taken notice of, he departed the Town, having firſt ſetled there a good correſpondence, and communicating his thoughts to the Duke of *Candale*, they agreed, that advancing the Fleet to *Lerment*, he ſhould endeavor to introduce the Army into the City, by the aſſiſtance of the Sieurs *Monſnier* and *du Sault*, (both highly diſguſted at the Princes Government) and by the help of the Counſellor *de Bordes* exceedingly incenſed, for having been impriſoned by the Princes Order, though he was preſently releas'd, and receiv'd with great courteſie. Theſe three perſons were of the chief of the Frondeurs, and of great Authority in the

the Town, and therefore with their directions it was no hard matter to compass their design, especially considering several of the *Olmiera* were joyned with them; and particularly one *Cot*, a Ring-leader of the seditious, and another called *Chevalier*, a son of one of the *Attourneys* of the Palace, carried all the Letters which past betwixt the Conspirators and the Commanders in chief for the King.

The Fleet appear'd at *Lermont*, ready for the Enterprize, but the Messenger was taken with his Letters about him, hang'd as a Spie before the Town-Hall, and the whole Plot interrupted. At the same time the Sieur *de Chambon* (who was sent by the Prince of *Condy* into *Guienne*, to hinder the Count *d'Ognon* from reconciling him-

himself to the Court, by offering him 300000 Crowns in ready money, and one of his Mannors, with the Title of a Duke) ran the same hazard, for after he had found all his Negotiations with the Count, absolutely ineffectual, desiring to pass into *Bourdeaux* (though they had no good opinion of him, for having delivered up *Xantes* to the enemy the year before) He was arrested by the people drawn to the Gallows, and had doubtless been hang'd, if in the time granted him to make his Confession, the Prince of *Conty* had not sent to deliver him, and luckily rescued him from that infamous death.

Yet all this could not discourage *Theubon* to set on foot new Machinations for the compassing his

his designes, aud entring into a correspondence with the Count *de Marin* Camp-Master under the King, he held frequent Intelligence with all such as he thought serviceable upon that occasion, in which number having judg'd one of the Treasurers of *France*, called *Filiot*, a proper person, in respect of the liberty he had of entring the Town daily, and going out at his pleasure, he committed the improvement of the correspondence to him which Count *Marin* held with the two Brothers of *Chastein*, and the Counsellor *du Sault*, Son of the Advocate-General, who being offended to see the Authority of that Parliament, prostituted to the impertinencies of the *Olmiera*, engaged himself in that Plot, and resolv'd to put himself at the Head of a Party of Citizens, and open one of the Gates to let in theKings Army.

This

This Scene was very well laid, and the ſucceſs not improbable, becauſe all was managed by Perſons in whom the people had very great confidence. But young Heads (eſpecially of the *French* Nation, who are a communicative people, keeping their ſecrets as Water in a Sieve.) One of the *Chaſteins*, having imparted the whole buſineſs to the Count *de Auteuil*, the Duke *d' Enguins* Governour, by the means of a Citizens daughter (with whom the ſaid Count was in love) *Filiot*, and the Counſellor *de Sault*, were both taken and clap'd into priſon. The other *Chaſtein*, not knowing the treachery of his Brother, was gone out to perſwade the Duke of *Candale* to advance with his Troops towards *Bourdeaux*, as believing all ſure. The Dukes forces march'd with that diligence and ſecreſie: That though the Plot was diſcover'd,

and

and the assistance expected within, totally interrupted; yet had not the Prince of *Conty* been in person at the Gate, to encourage his men, the Duke of *Candale* had questionless (without any Complices) entred the Town in that confusion.

This advance of the Duke of *Candale* was so strong a confirmation of the truth of the Conspiracy, and fill'd the *Olmeisti* so full of disdain, that like mad men they ran up and down the streets with their swords in their hands, crying out, That it was better to die a thousand deaths, fighting valiantly for their liberty, then to suffer themselves to be so basely and villainously betray'd.

They immediately ordered a solemnProcession to be made, to give God thanks for their delivery, and caused a *Franciscan* Frier to preach a Sermon to exhort them to unity and

and fidelity to their Countrey: The Frier got up into the Pulpit, and though in his affections he had been a *Frondeur*, nevertheless, being at that time illuminated by the Divine Wisdom, he delivered himself in such a manner, before the Prince, the Princess, the Frondeurs, the *Olmeisti* and the rest, and perswaded them so efficaciously to Peace, that all of them were touch'd, and the people extreamly edified with his extraordinary eloquence and doctrine, so that hence we may see that Gods Providence is as active in the confirmation and establishment, as in the destruction of Kingdoms. Here the innocence and goodness of the King was protected, and the wickedness and ingratitude of his subjects chastised by the Justice of Heaven.

After

After this, a Process was form'd against *Filiot*, and the Evidence being short, he was most inhumanely put upon the Rack in the Presence of *Duratesta* (the chief of the *Olmeisti*) and the Advocate *Pontelier*, who took his examination: *Filiot* swooned at first, but having implor'd the divine assistance, he found himself so strangely encouraged, (as he reported afterwards himself) that he kept firm to his resolution of confessing nothing, nor did he discover one man of all his Accomplices. For *du Sault*, they proceeded not so violently against him, by reason the tears of the father, and the former services of the son, out-weigh'd the resentment of a Treason (which had it succeeded) would have left the Princes expos'd to the fury of the Souldiers, without any capitulation.

The

The Negotiations and Conspiracies for reducing *Bourdeaux* to its obedience to the King, not having the expected success, and the Forces under the Dukes of *Vandosme* and *Candale*, being too weak to reduce so potent and obstinate a City by force, the Cardinal dispatch'd his Orders to the Count *d' Estrades*, Lieutenant-General in *Rochel*, to draw what strength he could out of the Neighbouring Towns, and lead them with all speed to the Duke of *Vendosme*. *Estrades* us'd all imaginable diligence, and being a good souldier, and well-affected to his Majesties service, he suddenly appear'd with a considerable body of men before *Bourg*, the Conquest of which Town being judg'd conducive to the reduction of *Bourdeaux*, it was undertaken by his advice. And to proceed the more vigorously it was necessary to attaque it in three

several places, but they having foot enough but for two, the Duke of *Candale* was desired that he would furnish them with men for the third. The Duke granted their desire very readily, and going immediately to *Cæsars* Fort, to discourse the business with the Duke of *Vandosme*, and *l' Estrades*, he caus'd his own *Tertia*, and some other Companies to march, and he himself (having agreed with the Duke of *Vendosme* about the Command) would needs be of the Party.

Bourg was beleagured, and on the 29. of *June* their Trenches were opened in three places; The first was commanded by the Duke of *Vendosme*, the second by the Duke of *Candale*, and the third by *l' Estrades*. The last Approach was managed so vigorously, that the fourth day, the Sieur *Delus*, Camp-Mareschal, lodg'd himself upon

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nor the giving him 500 Crowns by way of Reparation, prevailing, he dispatch'd a Messenger to *Blaye*, to negotiate his Accommodation with the Duke of Saint *Simon* and *Vandosme*, the last of which was newly arrived at that place, the Dukes giving the Cardinal Advice thereof, were required by all means to bring him off, if it were possible, and what other of that Party they could; This business was of importance, and in a fair way to succeed; but the Advocate *Literie*, being banish'd in the *interim*, upon some suspitions, though nothing was perfectly discover'd, that design was for the present laid by. *Theubon* was advised by his friends, and by those that were true servants to the King, to remain in *Bourdeaux*, to make himself Head of that Party in the Town, and never to reconcile himself to *Marsin*, but to study a revenge; for if he

he could be ſo happy as to kill him, he would not only ſatisfie his private reſentment, but put a Concluſion to the War, and perform an Action extreamly meritorious to the publick. Nevertheleſs, being too much taken notice of, he departed the Town, having firſt ſetled there a good correſpondence, and communicating his thoughts to the Duke of *Caxdale*, they agreed, that advancing the Fleet to *Lerment*, he ſhould endeavor to introduce the Army into the City, by the aſſiſtance of the Sieurs *Monſnier* and *du Sault*, (both highly diſguſted at the Princes Government) and by the help of the Counſellor *de Bordes* exceedingly incenſed, for having been impriſoned by the Princes Order, though he was preſently releas'd, and receiv'd with great courteſie. Theſe three perſons were of the chief of the Frondeurs, and of great Authority in the

the Town, and therefore with their directions it was no hard matter to compass their design, especially considering several of the *Olmiera* were joyned with them; and particularly one *Cot*, a Ring-leader of the seditious, and another called *Chevalier*, a son of one of the *Attourneys* of the Palace, carried all the Letters which past betwixt the Conspirators and the Commanders in chief for the King.

The Fleet appear'd at *Lermont*, ready for the Enterprize, but the Messenger was taken with his Letters about him, hang'd as a Spie before the Town-Hall, and the whole Plot interrupted. At the same time the Sieur *de Chambon* (who was sent by the Prince of *Condy* into *Guienne*, to hinder the Count *d'. Ognon* from reconciling him-

himself to the Court, by offering him 300000 Crowns in ready money, and one of his Mannors, with the Title of a Duke) ran the same hazard, for after he had found all his Negotiations with the Count, absolutely ineffectual, desiring to pass into *Bourdeaux* (though they had no good opinion of him, for having delivered up *Xantes* to the enemy the year before) He was arrested by the people drawn to the Gallows, and had doubtless been hang'd, if in the time granted him to make his Confession, the Prince of *Conty* had not sent to deliver him, and luckily rescued him from that infamous death.

Yet all this could not discourage *Theubon* to set on foot new Machinations for the compassing his

his designes, aud entring into a correspondence with the Count *de Marin* Camp-Master under the King, he held frequent Intelligence with all such as he thought serviceable upon that occasion, in which number having judg'd one of the Treasurers of *France*, called *Filiot*, a proper person, in respect of the liberty he had of entring the Town daily, and going out at his pleasure, he committed the improvement of the correspondence to him which Count *Marin* held with the two Brothers of *Chastein*, and the Counsellor *du Sault*, Son of the Advocate-General, who being offended to see the Authority of that Parliament, prostituted to the impertinencies of the *Olmiera*, engaged himself in that Plot, and resolv'd to put himself at the Head of a Party of Citizens, and open one of the Gates to let in theKings Army.

This

This Scene was very well laid, and the ſucceſs not improbable, becauſe all was managed by Perſons in whom the people had very great confidence. But young Heads (eſpecially of the *French* Nation, who are a communicative people, keeping their ſecrets as Water in a Sieve.) One of the *Chaſteins*, having imparted the whole buſineſs to the Count *de Auteuil*, the Duke *d' Enguins* Governour, by the means of a Citizens daughter (with whom the ſaid Count was in love) *Filiot*, and the Counſellor *de Saulx*, were both taken and clap'd into priſon. The other *Chaſtein*, not knowing the treachery of his Brother, was gone out to perſwade the Duke of *Candale* to advance with his Troops towards *Bourdeaux*, as believing all ſure. The Dukes forces march'd with that diligence and ſecreſie: That though the Plot was diſcover'd,

and

and the assistance expected within, totally interrupted; yet had not the Prince of *Conty* been in person at the Gate, to encourage his men, the Duke of *Candale* had questionless (without any Complices) entred the Town in that confusion.

This advance of the Duke of *Candale* was so strong a confirmation of the truth of the Conspiracy, and fill'd the *Olmeisti* so full of disdain, that like mad men they ran up and down the streets with their swords in their hands, crying out, That it was better to die a thousand deaths, fighting valiantly for their liberty, then to suffer themselves to be so basely and villainously betray'd.

They immediately ordered a solemnProcession to be made, to give God thanks for their delivery, and caused a *Franciscan* Frier to preach a Sermon to exhort them to unity and

and fidelity to their Countrey: The Frier got up into the Pulpit, and though in his affections he had been a *Frondeur*, nevertheless, being at that time illuminated by the Divine Wisdom, he delivered himself in such a manner, before the Prince, the Princess, the Frondeurs, the *Olmeisti* and the rest, and perswaded them so efficaciously to Peace, that all of them were touch'd, and the people extreamly edified with his extraordinary eloquence and doctrine, so that hence we may see that Gods Providence is as active in the confirmation and establishment, as in the destruction of Kingdoms. Here the innocence and goodness of the King was protected, and the wickedness and ingratitude of his subjects chastised by the Justice of Heaven.

After

After this, a Process was form'd against *Filiot*, and the Evidence being short, he was most inhumanely put upon the Rack in the Presence of *Duratesta* (the chief of the *Olmeisti*) and the Advocate *Pontelier*, who took his examination: *Filiot* swooned at first, but having implor'd the divine assistance, he found himself so strangely encouraged, (as he reported afterwards himself) that he kept firm to his resolution of confessing nothing, nor did he discover one man of all his Accomplices. For *du Sault*, they proceeded not so violently against him, by reason the tears of the father, and the former services of the son, out-weigh'd the resentment of a Treason (which had it succeeded) would have left the Princes expos'd to the fury of the Souldiers, without any capitulation.

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The Negotiations and Conspiracies for reducing *Bourdeaux* to its obedience to the King, not having the expected success, and the Forces under the Dukes of *Vandosme* and *Candale*, being too weak to reduce so potent and obstinate a City by force, the Cardinal dispatch'd his Orders to the Count *d' Estrades*, Lieutenant-General in *Rochel*, to draw what strength he could out of the Neighbouring Towns, and lead them with all speed to the Duke of *Vendosme*. *Estrades* us'd all imaginable diligence, and being a good souldier, and well-affected to his Majesties service, he suddenly appear'd with a considerable body of men before *Bourg*, the Conquest of which Town being judg'd conducive to the reduction of *Bourdeaux*, it was undertaken by his advice. And to proceed the more vigorously it was necessary to attaque it in three

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was Master of all the Avenues, back'd by *Casars* Fort, the Town of *Blanqufort*, and a strong quarter at *Begle*, by which means he cut off all supplies on that side, from whence they had been formerly relieV'd. The Count *Marin* was sent to possess himself of the Forts of *Testa* and *Certes*.

But though the Cardinal was not insensible, that force was the most secure way of reducing that Town to obedience, yet considering very prudently it was like to be the longest, he began to think of some other way to bring them to a voluntary submission, to which end he sent particular instructions; The House of *Espernon* by a long residence in those parts, having made many creatures, and gain'd much upon the affections of the people, contributed exceedingly to the Duke of *Candale* renewing his Practices with the well-affected

fected Citizens in the Town.

By the help therefore of their Friends and Confidents (there being ſeveral others diſpos'd alſo to peace) they eſteem'd it convenient to take ſuch meaſures as were moſt likely to ſucceed. The throng of Countrey-people, which were retir'd into the Town, increas'd their ſcarcities very much, the corn was conceal'd very dexterouſly in particular houſes, the building or repairing of their Mills neglected, and the other Machines laid (as on purpoſe) out of the way, ſo that their meal failing, and the Bakers unable to furniſh Bread for ſuch a number of people, that coming in great multitudes to receive their diſtributions, began to believe that their neceſſities would be great, and that it was therefore time to think rather of the publick ſafety, then of their private intereſt. Beſides this, the

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care and Government of the Hospitals was utterly left off, and the poor people sent to their doors, who were suppos'd to be the most concern'd in the Continuation of the War, and this was done, that by their miserable clamours and importunitys they might be brought to consider, that not being longer able to contend with those calamities, their best way would be to moderate the Obstinacy which caused them.

The sight of these Troops of poor creatures, sighing, and begging at their gates who where esteem'd the authors of the War had a wonderfull influence to dispose them to peace, whilest they began to feare least those very poor people of whom they had made use for raising those desturbances, should fall uppon them and pillage

their

their houses. It was also proposed to the Religious orders to expose the Holy Sacrament in all the Churches of the Towne, veiled with black, to signify that God Almighty was displeas'd with, and detested that Rebellion; But the Counsellors of Parliament and the Princes suffer'd it to be expos'd in the great Church only, to imply that they desired of God a General peace, which was the pretence they made vse of to foole, and delude the poor people.

In this kind of destraction they continued till *Wednesday* the 9th of *July* 1653. Upon which day, after divers private conferences, several Marchants mett publickly upon the Exchange, and declared it was high time for them to shutt up their Shops, seeing they were not like to have any more Trading during the Wars.

The

The Prince of *Conty*, having private intelligence of these Murmurs, made a publick Cavalcade thorow the City, but went no further. The next day, a certain person call'd *de Bas*, being by his Order apprehended for crying out *Peace, Peace*, before the Palace of Judicature, all the Neighbouring quarter took up armes, and demanded to have him released. This *de Bas* had private Consultations with a conventual *Minim*, call'd Friar *Romein*, who holding correspondence with the Count *d' Autenil*, shew'd a certain writing to several Citizens, which he said was from the Prince of *Conty*, wherein he gave them liberty to meet, to give him advice of what passed relating to his party, but this Affair had another intent; for the Friers design was to discover by this means, which were the Kings good and bad subjects; and the

good

good Citizens perceiving it, they proceeded reſervedly in communicating things of importance to the Friar.

The reputation therefore this *de Bas* had in the common opinion, was the cauſe the Citizens were ſo obſtreporous for his enlargement, as to threaten a Commotion, without immediate ſatisfaction. The Prince of *Conty* and *Marſin*, with the greateſt part of the Nobility and Officers in the Town got on Horſeback forthwith; the City-Companies, whoſe Captains for the moſt part were of the Faction of the *Olmiere*, were commanded to their Arms: but the Butchers, led up by one *Gilbert*, and Maſter *Iſaac* arm'd with Muſquetoons, and other weapons, cried out for Peace, and that if any one had any particular diſguſt, he ſhould revenge himſelf with his own hands as he could, and not endan-

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ger the Lives of the whole City. A *Hollander*, that had House and Family in the City, told *Marsin* to his face, that they knew how to die, but not unreveng'd, and that their deaths would not trouble them, so they died free-men. At this, being all amazed, it was concluded that all the *Olmeisti* should meet in the Town-house after dinner, where several things were propos'd, and the plurality of Voices concurr'd in this, to assault the Citizens inhabiting the Quarter towards *Rochel*, and the New-street, and to bring down the great Guns against them. The Prince of *Conty* was of a contrary opinion, and thought it better to expect the Judges and Consuls of the City, who were coming to beg of him with great submission, that he would not suffer the good Citi-

zens

zens of the Town to be abus'd and ruin'd in compliance with the *Olmieri*, who were about him, and had threatned to plunder their houses.

The Merchants appeared before him, and intreated for Peace, as the only probable way to prevent greater disorders. The Prince reply'd, That he would not subject any body by compulsion, though it was easie for him to do it; but if they would remain constant to the service of his Brother the Prince of *Condy* and himself, he would protect them and their interest; and by their unanimity all the difficulties would easily be overcome, which their dissentions increased, and rendred past Remedy: and that he would advise with his Counsel what was best to be done in this Affair.

During

During these tumults at *Bourdeaux*, the Count *de Fiesco* had his Dispatch at the Court of *Spain*, and imbarking in a Frigat at St. *Sebastian*, he arrived at the Port *Testa di Bus*, where at his landing he found all the Citizens in Arms for the King, and had much ado to escape; but his Ship remain'd at the discretion of those Bores; who took it and all that was in it, making use of their Artillery against the Forts of *la Teste de Bus*, and *Sertes*, which were Garrison'd by the Princes Souldiers; to keep open the passage for those that went and came from *Spain*. To these Countrey-men the Count *Marin*, joyn'd with 600 Foot, with which recruit in five or six days both those Posts were taken.

The Count *de Fiesco* arriving at *Bordeaux* the twelfth of *July*, went immediatly to the Town-house with the Prince of *Conty*, where with

with great Rhetorick he magnify'd the power and greatness of the King of *Spain*, and assured the *Olmiera* of a speedy and effectual supply of Men, Money, Ships and all other provisions: Affirming he had seen so great, and so forward preparations in the *Porto di Passage*, that it could not be long before it would appear. Upon this News there was a solemn Assembly appointed by the several Companies in the City, where the said Count made the same relation, and with so much the more Zeal, by how much it was farther from the truth.

These promises and representations were receiv'd by the honest party with horror, but some Counsellors of the Parliament, blinded with their own vanity, said, that the King of *Spain*'s Courtesy was not to be abus'd, under whose Protection all things would be happi-

ly

ly concluded, with absolute quiet and liberty. But notwithstanding all this, the next day the Presidial Court (which is a Magistracy consisting of about 30 persons, to whom belongs the administration of ordinary Justice) deputed some persons to the Prince of *Conty*, and requested of him in expresse terms, that they might have Peace; representing, that they ought not so easily to beleive the relation of *Fiesco*, who was biass'd by the passion he had for the service of his King, by which he drew profit to himself, receiving Gifts and Presents from his Catholick Majesty, to whom he told as many falsities as he had done there. After which, all the Religious Orders, one after another, presented their Addresses for Peace, and their publick safety, which consisted in their obedience to their natural and lawful King, and not in runing vainly

vainly after foreign Protectors.

The same instance was made by the Chapiter of the Cathedral of Saint *Andrew*; But their Deputies were threatned by a Goldsmith, called *Geraut*, who was a principal man among the seditious: The Ministers of the Huguenots (who in all their troubles had shew'd themselves zealous and faithful to the Kings service) were likewise check'd by *Duratesta*. The Prince return'd this Answer to them all, That he himself was also for Peace, provided it might be permanent and safe, and when he could be assur'd of obtaining such an one, he would be more ready to embrace it then any of them all.

In the mean time he dispatch'd an Express to the Marquess *de Santa Croce*, General of the *Spanish* Fleet, remonstrating their necessity of of present supplies, that the least delay

delay would reduce them to extremities, beyond all possible recovery: and that he was resolv'd (if any thing hapned adverse in attempting their relief) to send *Baltasser* before to scour the ways with a Party of Horse, and to follow himself with his Nephew the Duke *de Enguien* to *Tartas*, and from thence to pass by land to the Frontiers of *Spain*.

This was a bold and desperate resolution, and as such, was oppos'd not only by the Princess, but by *Marsin* and *Lenet*.

In the mean time, the Citizens being grown weary of the indiscretion and tyranny of the Rascallity of the *Olmiera*, resolved to make themselves Masters of the Gates of the City, by surprizing them upon the relieving the Guards, which were most of them of the *Olmeisti*, they listed themselves therefore as the common people

people did, to serve in the same manner and forme as the ordinary souldiers; Whereupon some of the very Captains of the *Olmieræ*, offred to joyn with them in their Petition for Peace.

Some of the Citizens seeing themselves Masters of the Gates, were of opinion, their best course would be to bring in the Kings Army, and shake off their yoke at a blow; But the rest, who desir'd no less preservation of the Prince of *Conty* and his Family, then the liberty of their Countrey, oppos'd such violent resolutions, and endeavor'd to obtain peace by honourable means, and not by treachery: undertaking the service of his most Christian Majesty with zeal and vigour enough: but accompanied with good Order and *Decorum*, reteining still a a duty and respect for the Princes according to the dignity of their

Royal Birth, designing to reduce all to the Kings obedience, by gentle means, and upon such termes as might produce most advantage to their Countrey, and glory to themselves.

Whilst these things were in Agitation, *Marsin* and *Fiesco* had agreed to bring some Troops into the Town, to reduce the Citizens to their Will by force of Arms: and (to vent their whole fury at once, they designed to seize upon the Prince of *Conti* himself, and to kill *Saracin*, and the Abbot of *Cognac* his two principal Confidents.

The Prince had Intelligence of this Plot, from the Jesuits, and was desired for his better security, to take up his lodging a nights at the Town-house, or at their Colledge hard by.

Virlade also having Advice to the same purpose, put his Company

pany immediately in Arms, and possess'd himself of the Gate next the Red Chappel, by which the aforesaid Troops were to enter: They treated also with the *Irish*, who were to have effected the design, telling them, that *Marsin* intended to deliver them up to the *English*, their mortal Enemies and Persecutors; and that the business was negotiating in *England*, by the means of *Francars* and *de Blaru*, two Commissioners of the *Olmiera*.

The disgusts betwixt the Prince of *Conty* and *Marsin* were grounded upon *Marsin* s presumption, and arrogance, assuming all the Authority to himself, and using the Prince as he had been but an inanimate Statue, so that the Prince not being able, nor the Princess of *Longueville* his Sister, to endure such insolence, they writ to their Brother the Prince of *Condy* with great resentment,

desiring, that (if he intended to preserve the good correspondence which had been hitherto betwixt them) that he would contrive some way of giving them satisfaction, otherwise they should be forc'd to withdraw.

The Prince of *Condy* was two months in returning his Answer; and when he did, it was different from what they expected, being only a general recommendation of unity among them, declaring withal, that he intended *Marsin* should have the principal Management of the Military Affairs, and *Lenet* of the *Finances*, and because *de Chouppes* had writ likewise against *Marsin* and *Lenet*, he sent them the Original of all the Letters.

This kind of usage was sufficient to have added new fuell to the generous resentments of the Prince of *Conty*, and the Duchess of *Longueville*,

gueville; and to have devided them from the Union of their Brother, who treated, them with so little confidence: But those Princes were too moderate and wise, dissembling all, and continuing firm to the utmost extremity. Having besides *de Chouppes*, and the Marquess of *Lusignan*, sent *Brequigny* to the Court of *Spain*, and *Fay*, to the Marquess of *Santa-Croce* at that time at Saint *Sabastian*, where the Baron *Batteville*, not at all pleas'd that others should reap the fruit and honour of his labour, hindred all he could, the deliberations of the Court of *Spain*, who with their accustomed delays kept the Princes and their Partie in perpetual hopes without any considerable releif.

By vertue of these differences and Emulations betwixt the Prince of *Conty*, and the Ministers of the Prince of *Condy*, the Assemblies of

the Merchants were upon the Exchange as a place most commodious, more frequent then formerly, in respect the Town-house was taken up by the Counsel of the *Olmiera*, and the Palace where they keep the Court of Justice, by the *Frondeurs*: *Lenet* went twice to speak with them to sowe division amongst them, insinuating that he himself approv'd of what they did, so it were without the intervention of the Advocates, and other persons of the Courts of Justice, who being always for their ownintereſt, would ascribe all the honour to themselvs, and leave only the trouble for them. To others he inculcated their own interest, the strength of the Prince of *Condy*, and his affection to the City, so that partly by terror, partly by diffidence, and partly with hopes, he endeavor'd to gain them all: But all this artifice could not prevent the meeting and con-

concourse of the honest party in this Assembly, by which he perceiving all things to run counter to his intention, and that the hearts of the Cititizens were set immoveably upon peace, instead of confiding in the Prince of *Conty* (who continued still constant to his Brother and his family) he suggested certain jealousies of him, to the Princess, his Sister, and with the most pernicious counsel which could be given at that time, to make him universally odious, he exhibited several charges and accusations against the said Prince, to weaken the only support he had left, sowing discord in his family and among those of his party, and endeavouring with crafty plots to delude them.

Fiesco took his Lodgings in the New-street among the Merchants, to be more ready at hand to perswade them; that to establish a

secure peace, their best way would be to follow the Counsel of *Marsin*, a person of long experience, and not be led by the Nose by *Conty*, an unexperienc'd Youth.

They contrived likewise, that certain of the *Frondeurs* (in whom they had greatest confidence) should be present at these Assemblies at the *Burse*, among which there were also the Counsellers of the Parliament which remained in *Bourdeaux*, and these to raise differences and distractions amongst them to gain time, in which they placed all their hopes. They contriv'd moreover, that one *Ramont* (standing Sentinel at that time in the Town-house) should deny Admission to one *Orial* (though of the *Olmira*) because he did not second their designes, as was expected; which was resented by their Companions, and the whole *Olmiera*, Who commanded him to depart

depart the City. Having after this discover'd, that *Marsin* gain'd upon the people every day; by common consent, they call'd a General Assembly on the 19th. of *July*, 1653. on the Exchange, in which Assembly there met the Deputies from all the Companies in the City. Whilst they were sitting here together, the Chevalier *Todias* a Jurate, appear'd unexpectedly amongst them, whereupon laying hold on the occasion, That the Presence of a Magistrate of the City rendred the Assembly lawful, they constrain'd him to accept the deputation they made to the Prince of *Conty*, to signifie to him the resolutions of the good Citizens of the Town, and to intreat him to approve of the design they were upon, to make an Overture of peace, and to consent, That the Faction of the *Olmiera*, which was the only obstacle, might be abolish'd, That the

Captains and Officers of the City might be cashier'd; it being not reasonable, that so many Persons of good quality and birth, as went personally to the Guard for the safety of the Publick, should be commanded by the seditious and *Plebeians*; and that therefore they might be chang'd, and other sober and deserving persons of condition and worth employ'd in their stead. It was concluded in like manner, that such as were present should be deputed as from the several Fraternities, and meete daily as the principal Counsel of the City. These to the number of about thirty, with several Heads of the Artizans, went together towards the house of the Dutchess of *Longueville*, where the Prince then was, part of their number remaining behind on the Exchange;

change; some thought it necessary to do somthing extraordinary, so that whilst their Deputies were attending the Prince, they caused all they met in the streets, to cry, *Viva il Re, e la Pace*, *Long live the King, and the Peace*, distributing a white Favor to every one of them. Upon this noise the Deputies took heart, and the Sieur *Todias*, encourag'd by them, represented with great franckness to the Prince of *Conty*, the miseries occasioned both by the Kings forces, and the Princes which were quartered under the Walls, but especially by the tumultuous and insolent *Olmeisti*, who in one year had occasion'd more mischief then many ages would be able to repair: That the good Citizens could no longer endure the licentiousness of the Souldiers.

Where-

Wherefore, in the Name of the whole Corporation, he most humbly besought him to take some speedy course for the Consolation of all parties, assuring him of the affection and constancy of the Citizens towards his Highness, the Prince of *Conay*, the Duke *d' Anguien* his Nephew, and his Sister the Dutchess of *Longueville*, the Prince told them, that they should meet him the next day at the Arch-bishops Palace, to agree about the means of procuring a durable Peace. The Deputies coming out of the Dutchess of *Longueville*'s house, and meeting the people that were crying Peace, they took each of them a white Signal, and joyning with them in a moment, the Cry went thorow the whole Town, *Viva il Re, e la pace, e muoia l' Olmiera, Long live the King, and the Peace, and let the* Olmiera *perish*. The women, the children, every body put on

on white colours, and they which had no other, made use of their Handkerchiefs or white paper: On the other side, the *Olmeisti* and others of the Princes party distinguish'd themselves by *Isabella* and blew.

The next Lords day, by order of the Prince of *Conty*, there were present at the Council the Counts of *Marsin*, *de Mora*, *Fiesco*, *de Mata*, *de Antel*, the Marquess of *Lusignan*, Coll. *Baltasser*, the Counsellors *Ramont*, *Du Duc* and *Spagnet*, who had been at the Exchange to desire Peace; the President *Fresne* was also call'd to the Council, who had conceal'd himself for two years together, under pretence of a fit of sickness real or feigned. They argued and discuss'd this Affair with variety of opinions; some of the *Frondeurs*, to hinder them from coming to a Conclusion, endeavor'd to divert the Resolutions of the Assembly,

and

and delay time; But this being discover'd by some who were well enough acquainted with the intention of the *Frondeurs*, and understood how much it imported them not to lose time, they remained behind in the Exchange with some other of their friends; and besides those they had with them the day before, getting some other active Persons, they heartened their Deputies, who at that instant were at the Archbishops Palace; and startled *Marsin*, their number being encreased to above 2000 persons, they assaulted the house of *Bleru*, who was at that time an Agent in *England*, that by this means the tumult, (which they noised abroad to be much increased) might dispose the Prince and the Assembly to satisfie the Petition of the City; but the unstable Rout soon gave a proof of their inconstancy, deserting their

Leaders

Leaders in the very-height of the Action: who did what they could to keep them together, but to no purpose; and in the mean time, night coming on, and nothing done, *Virlada* resolv'd to give some money to his Kinsman *Cabanieux*, if with other of his Companions he would go and take down a red Standard, which had been set up by the *Olmeisti* upon Saint *Michaels* Steeple, and in stead of that funest and bloody colours, put up a white one (the Kings colours) in its place; which being done, and another of the same, in like manner advanc'd on the Steeples of St. *Remy* and St. *Peters*, by the well-affected of thôse parishes; as also on the Gate next the Exchange, the appearance of these colours had so great an influence, that *Marsin* himself who did all he could to divert the Propositions for Peace,

con-

condescended to all, the Deputies of the Merchants desired, upon a suspicion of some unavoidable surprize; Twelve Deputies therefore were chosen, to consult with the Princes Counsel upon such terms and expedients as should be most proper for the Conclusion of the Peace; but *Marsin* perceiving that their fear was without any foundation: the same night coming to the Town-house (where the Prince of *Conty* lodg'd,) with all the Officers of the Army, and the chief of the *Olmiera*, they consulted how to disturb and prevent the designes of the well-affected to the King.

The *Olmeisti* propos'd to fall upon those that were assembled in the *Burse*. *Marsin* and *Fiesco* were for standing upon their defence, and (bringing in their Troops) to place them in the street before the Town-house, as far as the quarter of

of *Santa Eulalia* towards the Archbishops Palace; and the Castle of *Ha*, where the inhabitants had not declared against them: it was resolv'd also to make use of an Arrest of Parliament offer'd by the *Frondeurs*, which under pretence of Remonstrating for Peace; forbade all Assemblies, as unlawfull and seditious, to the end that the *Olimiera* might unite with the remainder of the Parliament against the other Citizens: The Prince of *Canty* did not approve of bringing in the Troops, as a thing which would make the Citizens disperate and and force them to open a Gate to the Dukes of *Vandosm* and *Candal*, which would prove the utter desolation and ruine of the whole City: so that the result was, that they should only make use of the Ordinances of Parliament. The next day the Counsellors of Parliament going to meet, were hindred

dred by a party of Citizens, telling them the Parliament was at *Agen*, and not at *Bourdeaux*: *Virlade* clap'd a Court of Guard before the Palace of Judicature, to hinder the Entrance of the Counsellors; and upon the Exchange ordered the Sieur *de Lovergnac*, one of the Advocates, to reade a Letter publickly from the Duke of *Candale*, in which he offered the Citizens his Mediation, and a General Amnesty: The people, though they did not accept thereof, yet they desired *Virlade* and *Baccalan*, that they would be present as their Tribunes, at the Counsels held for publick business in the Archbishops Palace. This being the posture of Affairs in *Bourdeaux*, and the greater part of the Citizens dispos'd for Peace, the Kings Generals thought it not amiss to encou-

rage

rage these Proceedings, and to hinder the seditious spirits of the *Olmiera* from interrupting them,) to cause their Troops to advance from their Quarters about *Begle*, towards the Gate of Saint *Julian*, and at the same time to bring the Fleet above *Lormont*.

This Council was immediately put in execution, the Duke of *Candale*'s Troops marching forward by Land, to the number of about 4000 Foot and 200 Horse. The Clouds of dust, which the trampling of the Horses rais'd in the Air, and the noise of the Artillery from the Ships against the Post of *Bacalan*, was seen and heard with so much confusion and terrour, that the *Frondeurs*, and some Counsellours of the Parliament, who were met in the Burse, or Exchange, dissolv'd

dissolv'd the Assembly suddenly in great fear, upbraiding the others that under the colour of Peace they had plotted the surprize and desolation of the Town. *Virlada* did his utmost endeavor to change the Officers that had the Command of the Gates (which were all of them *Olmiesti*) but being yet all alone with the Advocate *Dalon*, advising what was to be done, their design being discover'd, and seeing the people incens'd against them, he resolv'd to repair to the Town-house, and there with the help of some of his friends, attempt the nomination of new Captains. Here he found the Prince of *Conty*, and represented to him, that in respect of the confusions within the City, and the approach of the enemy without, the Citizens also being refractory, and unwilling to follow their old Officers, not so much as their Serjeant-Major *Pe-*

riera,

riera; it was better (as he did most humbly intreat) for his own proper security, to accept of those few Captains, which in the name of the Citizens he tendred to him, insinuating withal a jealousy, of the pretension of the Jurates of the City against his Authority, if it should happen into their power to choose them, as they desired. The Prince to rid himself of him quickly, fearing to be surprized, having taken their Oaths, they took possession of their places in the Council held in the Arch-Bishops Palace, and fell into debate immediately about the most probable Expedients to obtain a Peace; to which end *Virlade* offred himself to go forthwith and negotiate with the Duke of *Candale*, without expecting a Passport, not to lose time.

Marsin thought to elude him, appointing him for his Companion

Baz

Baz, a Mareſchal de Camp, and his very great Confident. But *Virlade* departed at Midnight with the ſingle Permiſſion of the Prince, without the ſaid *Baz*: *Bacalan* was nominated alſo to go to *Vandoſme* with *Calapian*, (another Mareſchal de Camp, Brother to the Marquefs *de Luſignan*, and ſtrictly engaged in *Marſin*'s intereſt;) *Virlade* repreſented to the Duke of *Candale* the intention the City had to ſubmit themſelves to the obedience of the King, and ſhewed him the full power they had given him to treat, as alſo a Letter of credit from the Prince of *Conty*, who to prevent the fatal effects of a Conſpiracy contrived againſt his life, by certain perſons which had been baniſh'd, and were return'd again into the Town, condeſcended to treat with the ſaid

Duke

Duke, his particular friend, in the behalf, and for the security of his Nephew the Duke *de Enguien*, the Princesses, and the rest of his Party, and he entreated him most earnestly to interpose his Authority, that the good Citizens might receive the effects of the Kings Clemency, rather then of his Justice.

The Duke receiv'd these Overtures with great civility, and declaring himself a friend to the Prince of *Conty*, he express'd all the demonstrations of esteem that could be expected from an entire Correspondence, it being necessary for the better carrying on of the Treaty, first to make a Truce, which *Viralda* earnestly press'd, the Duke reply'd, he would conclude nothing of himself, till he had advised with the Duke of *Vendosm*, with whom he went hand in hand in carrying on the Kings Interest; yet they proceeded so far, that

that the Duke prohibited his souldiers under severe penalty to go out of their Quarters, or to commit any Acts of Hostility, either against the Goods or Lives of the *Bourdelots*. The Duke in the mean time sent the Chevalier *de Muns*, Captain of his Guards, to complement the Prince, and to assure the inhabitants of his good affection, and sincere mediation to his Majesty in their behalf; from thence the said Captain repair'd to the Duke of *Vendosme*, to give him an Account of what had passed. *Bacalan* made the same submissions to the Duke of *Vendosm*, who receiv'd him with extraordinary Courtesie, answerable to the sweetness and affability of his humour.

That very same day *Gourville* arrived from the Court, at the Duke of *Vendosmes* quarters, and desiring to pass likewise into the Duke

Duke of *Candales*, the next way being thorow the Town; he sent thither for a Passport, which (every one being curious to understand how Affairs went since their separation from the Prince of *Condy*,) they presently granted. He arrived late in Town, and *Lenets* house being near the Post-house, where he alighted; he made his first Visit to him, and stayed with him all night, which gave some jealousie to the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, who imagin'd, that coming from the Court he had had private Instructions to treat with *Marsin* and *Lenet*, who were then in no good correspondence with the Prince and the Dutchess.

The next day he went to pay his Visits to them, who were very importunate with him, to know what Orders he had brought along with him from the Court, and be-

cause he assured them, that he would not meddle with any thing, without communicating with them, and desired them that they would look upon him as a Person wholly devoted to the service of the King, they look'd upon him with more suspicion then before.

The Curiosity of the Princes entertain'd him in long Discourse of several things, so that the same effect his Conference with *Lenet* had wrought in the Prince, the same did his discourse with the Prince produce in *Marsin* and *Lenet*, and the rather because not having negotiated any thing with them, they concluded his Orders were to treat only with the Prince, so that they were all of them equally in the dark. *Gourville* pursued his Voiage in the Company of *Baz*, (who was sent by *Marsin* to the Camp at *Begle*, to have an

eye

eye upon *Virlade*'s Proceedings)and coming to the Duke of *Candale*, who received him with great kindness, he communicated to the Duke all that was to be done for his Majesties service in *Bourdeaux*, according to the Instructions he had received from Cardinal *Mazarine*. Joyning with *Viralde*, they together obtain'd a suspension of Arms for three days, in which time the Duke of *Candale* promised to speak with the Duke of *Vendosme*, to adjust the Articles of the Truce, not only for the City, but for the whole Province of *Guienne*.

In the mean time the Prince of *Conty* went to the Exchange, and put on a white Scarf, to the great joy of the people. But the inconveniences which might arise from the frequent resort of the Kings Officers and Souldiers to the town,

being represented to him, he prohibited the admitting any of them for the future, without a Passport.

Whilst things were thus in Agitation, *Virlada* return'd to *Bourdeaux*, and inform'd both the Prince and the Citizens of his Negotiations with the Duke of *Candale*.

Marsin, being enrag'd to see the Conclusion of the Treaty so near, which he sought with all Art and Industry to protract and interrupt, he would not consent that any Answer should be return'd from the Arch-bishops Palace. Whereupon *Viralda*, (to animate the people the more, and to excite them to Peace) produced another Letter from the Duke of *Candale*, by which he permitted the Citizens to go to their Countrey-houses if they pleas'd, to get in their Harvest, and distributed Passports to those

those that desired them, who came in great throngs.

The Duke of *Vandosm* likewise sent *Butin* his Secretary into *Bourdeaux*, to assure the Citizens of his inclinations to favour them, but that he would not admit of any Treaty without the consent and participation of the Duke of *Candale*, and that the Propositions might be the better discuss'd and examin'd, they would meet together, and not separate, till the Treaty was concluded or broke off.

Butin was receiv'd with extraordinary Acclamation; but the Chevalier *Todias* represented, that it was contrary to the Rules of War, and against their proper interest to shew such partiality. The Secretary was sent back, and *Vandosmes* Letter delivered to the Prince of *Conty*: *Marsin* came into the Council assembled in the

Arch-bishops Palace, and sharply reproved *Virlade*, for that in his Presence he had suffered *Feran* (a Huguenot Minister) to inveigh against the Princes party before the Duke of *Candale*, adding, that this was a clear demonstration, that the Huguenots hated the *Spaniards*, which was repugnant to the common interest, by reason they could hope for relief from no other Countrey but *Spain*, and that he and *Feran* both, would have but little thanks from the Citizens.

Marsin hearing the relation of these transactions was not a little disturbed, who foreseeing that all would be lost, the greatest part of the inhabitants being disposed to return to the obedience of their King.

A Passport was here demanded for the Duke of *Vandosm*'s Galleys to go and receive the Duke of *Candale* at *Begle*. *Marsin* oppos'd it, saying, it might be a Treachery,

ry, and propoſed that the Duke might be conveyed in the Veſſels belonging to the Town, whereupon a Conteſt aroſe betwixt him and others, who maintained, that it was not decent for the Kings General to appear in any Ships, but what belong'd to His Maj ſty; *Marſin* inſiſted that the Deputies might be changed; but theſe being in good eſteem with the people that were well-affected, they were confirm'd, and the Articles of the Truce enlarged. The Contents of them were, that all Hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe till the Conſummation or Rupture of the Treaty; That there ſhould be no communication betwixt the ſouldiers and inhabitants, without paſsports from the Kings Generals. That when the Kings Troops ſhould be removed further off, quarters ſhould be granted to the Princes Forces, four leagues from *Bourdeaux*.

That during the Treaty, there ſhould be free entrance for all kind of Proviſions into the Town; That Paſſes ſhould be given to certain perſons, to be ſent into *Flanders*, to give advice of what paſſ'd to the Prince of *Condy*, and into *Spain*, to his Catholique Majeſty, That *Baltaſſer* with his Troops might retire to *Tartas*. The Article concerning the Paſsport into *Spain* was diſputed, and at length altered by the Prince of *Conty*, it being agreed on, that only notice ſhould be given to the Generals of the *Spaniſh* Fleet; But with order not to come near *Bourdeaux*, for if they did they ſhould neither be received nor aſſiſted. All theſe Tranſactions being highly diſpleaſing to *Marſin*, and all ſuch as were enemies to the peace, they raiſed new murmures and diviſions in the City, and plotted all ways to break or diſturb the Treaty;

They

They assured the people that there was Corn enough in the *Magazines* for three Months; That the want of provisions, and sickness encreasing daily in the Kings Army, they could not long subsist, nor be able to make the least opposition against the *Spanish* Fleet, which was expected every moment, with ample supplies, both of Victuals, Money and men, so that holding out but a few days longer they should obtain a Peace much more advantageous. That the Prince of *Condy* was in *Flanders* with a powerful Army, able to march to *Paris* without any obstruction, by reason of the weaknes of the Kings Forces, and the peoples disaffection to the Cardinal. *Marsin* continued to declaim aganst the Propositions of the peace, as dishonourable to the name of their Union, and to their Promises, and oaths so often reiterated, not to

abandon the Prince of *Condy*, That it was nothing but the effect of a Conspiracy of a few persons corrupted by the flatteries of *Mazarine*, and inveigled with the thoughts of bettering their own fortune by the ruine of the publick interest. That their Offers were to be shunn'd as the singing of a Sirene, That having offended a Prince to the quick, the best Counsel was to see him no more except in a Picture: But on the contrary, those who understood the Artifices and machinations of seditious persons, were of another judgement, and declar'd,

That things were reduc'd now to such an extremity, they must fall inevitably into the hands of the *Spaniard*, and live under their yoke and dominion, or become miserable sacrifices to the armes and vengeance of their own King. That the State could never fall

under

under greater Tyranny, then what they then suffered under the Officers of the Princes, who had no other aim then to satisfie their insatiable desire of robbing them both of their honour and estates, leaving them in a miserable and languishing condition. That the City, not being to be brought to a worse plight, ought to embrace so happy an opportunity of redeeming it self from such imminent dangers, whilst the Generals, with unexpected Courtesie, distributed every where his Majesties grace and favours, full of clemency and pity, and thought it greater honour to be the instruments of his mercy then revenge. That now was the time to wipe off all the unworthy stains of rebellion, by making it appear, they were rather the effects of a few peoples violence, then any universal disgust. That *Marsin* (as a stranger) was manifestly more solicitous for his own private interest

interest for the Princes, and therefore he ran things to Extremity, with false and pretended promises of releif, which if soberly consider'd, was rather to be abhorr'd then receiv'd, seeing by prolonging the War, all the people must of necessity be precipitated into an eternal, and inextricable confusion, and their revenues brought to nothing, consisting principally in trade with strangers, and in the fruits of the field, the one absolutely precluded and interrupted, and the other like to be destroy'd, by the spoiling of their Vintage.

They further added, that the Princes professing the ease of the people, to whom they had so many Obligations, it was to be suppos'd, they would not consent, that for the advantage of a few of their party, so many innocents should be ruin'd; and that themselves, being

ing of so high a birth, by returning to their obedience, they might restore themselves to their pristine Authority and *Grandeur* in the Kingdom of *France*, where no true *Frenchman*, by reason of their natural antipathy could willingly brook the *Spaniards*, who sought to advantage themselves by these troubles, alluring the uncautious by the lustre of their Gold, and deluding the people more with false hopes then really assisting them with any formidable and effectual force. Finally, they concluded, that having for their own Sovereign, a King given them by God, they ought not to doubt of his being endowed with so Noble and Generous a mind as to forget injuries, and pardon Offences.

These Reasons, with the Engagement, into which most of the Citizens had publikely entred, and the fear of falling again under the out-

outrages of the *Olmeira*, in case they should recover their former Authority by the means of foreign force, was the cause that the Assembly of the *Olmeisti*, was expresly forbidden, and the Captains of the quarters renewed with all diligence, and strict Guards placed at the Gates to hinder the entrance of forreign Soldiers. They treated also privately with Colonel *Baltasser*, to gain him to their side, as a valiant and generous person, and one that was capable of doing much mischeif, were he united with *Marsin*, with whom (by reason of several disgusts past betwixt them) he held no very good correspondence.

Virlade, being in the mean time return'd to *Begle*, to accompany the Duke of *Candale* to *Lormont*, and assist at the General *Truce*, receiv'd an express from the Duke of *Vandosme* at Mid-night, that 33 Sail

Sail of *Spanish* Ships were arriv'd within ſight of *Blay*; Whereupon the three days *Truce* being expir'd, the Duke of *Candale* thought it expedient to give them another indefinite, till the concluſion of the peace, and the publication of the Amneſty, which he did to engage the Citizens in a Treaty, before the news of the approach of the *Spaniſh Armada*, leſt they ſhould change their reſolutions, aud concurr with the contrary party.

It being concluded therefore, a nd eſtabliſh'd as firm as was poſſible, *Virlade* was diſpatch'd back to *Bourdeux*, to draw the Prince of *Conty* to a peremptory reſolution to declare puplickly for the ſervice of the King; where being arriv'd, he found the City much altered by the Artifices of *Marſin*, who (having been at the *Burſe*, to clear himſelf and *Lenet* of the machinations

chinations wherewith they were charg'd) he had in some measure mollifi'd the hearts of those who had been exasperated against him, and by the distribution of Money amongst the Plebeians, captivated a good part of them, particularly those of the Fraternity of Saint *John*,(which are so numerous they seldome appear less then 1500 in their procession upon that Saints day)so that he caus'd them to fasten peeces of Red Ribbon to their Procession-staffs, and to cry up and down the streets, and in their very Procession,*Viva i Principi*,Long live the Princes.

Virlada,astonish'd at this change, rid amongst them with a Trumpet of the Duke of *Candales* before him, snatching from some of them their Red Ribbons, giving them white, and casting some Moneys amongst them,he caus'd themquickly to change their note,and cry out

as

as fast, *Viva il Re, e la Pace*, *Long live the King and the Peace*, and from thence passing to the Town-house, where the Prince of *Conty* then was, he prest him to declare himself either for Peace or War, telling him, that as his servant, he could not but advise him of the evident danger he was in, seeing the design was to make themselvs Masters of the Town, though with the destruction and ruine of his Highness. That therefore he did earnesly desire him to continue the suspension of Arms, which during till the conclusion of the peace, would secure him, and take away all occasion from the Kings Generals to attempt any thing against the City, which in the confusions they were then in, would be no hard matter for them to do, to the endangering of his person, and his friends, or at least to his dishonour.

These

These Propositions sunk very deep into the heart of the Prince, full of generosity, and therefore the more dispos'd to receive such counsels as were grounded on reason and honour; Besides, *Gourville*, being in private Treaty with him at that time, who took great pains to remove him from all contrary sentiments; he finally resolv'd to subscribe the suspension of Arms; which was solemnly publish'd, and went to the Exchange to declare openly, that he renounc'd all leagues and confederacies with *Spain*.

Here were likewise read the Articles of peace, which were to be propos'd, as also a renunciation of the Citizens, of all Treaties with the *English*, and the Ministers of *Spain*, and this was also done in publique by the Prince, with much frankness, which drew after him all the acclamations of the people.

The

The Arrival of the *Spanish* Fleet was not yet known in *Bourdeaux*, and those that understood the inconstancy of the people always desirous of novelties, endeavour'd to conceal it as much as was possible.

The Duke of *Candale* went to *Lormond* to the Duke of *Vandosme*, and the articles of the *Truce* were agreed on in the same form they were presented, except the granting of quarters to the Princes Troops, a passport to *Baltasser*, or liberty for bringing in victuals or Ammunition into the Town. They agreed afterwards, on the houre to meet the Deputies, to treat about the peace. The designes of the seditious and the *Spaniards* being in this manner defeated; The Kings Generals were much rejoyced, and the rather because they had reason to fear, that if the *Spanish* Navy had ap-

appear'd before the Treaty had been concluded, they would easily have made themselves Masters of *Bourdeaux*, and all the Kings Affairs in *Guienne*, been utterly ruin'd, besids the prejudice they would have receiv'd in the other parts of the Kingdom by so potent, and so considerable a diversion.

The *Spanish* Fleet came to an Anchor at the mouth of the *Garonne*, and the Generals (having notice of the resolution of the *Bourdelois* whilst they lay there, attending the opportunity of the Tyde, to attempt the relieving of the Town) were in great confusion, and at a stand what to do, fearing to engage themselves in vain, further in the River, with so much hazard, not being assur'd to be receiv'd by the City, but rather treated as Enemies; They concluded at length to continue where they were upon their Guard, and

to

to dispatch away a Messenger with all speed to the *Spanish* Court, to give notice of the alteration of Affaires, that they might deliberate what was best to be done in this exigence. They sent likewise advice into *Flanders*, to the *Spanish* Ministers and the Prince of *Condy*, who at the receipt of this News saw his expectations quite vanisht, while with a secure confidence he had cherish'd himself, that the *Spanish* Fleet would have got easily to *Bourdeaux*, and have had the better of the day, if they came to an engagement; which the *Spaniards* themselves, gave evident tokens they were not willing to undertake upon a slight account.

On the 27. of *July*, the Deputies, being twelve in number (whereof Chevalier *Todias* was the chief) to whom was joyn'd the aforesaid *Virtade*, they propounded the Articles

ticles of the Peace. By the permission of the Prince of *Conty*, *Bartau* a Citizen of *Bourdeux*, was sent to the *Spanish* Navy, to let them know, that the City renounced all leagues and confedederacies concluded with his Catholick Majesty, and disowned all succours that came from him.

The Generals having perus'd the Propositions of Peace, they found some things too prejudicial to his Majestie's honor, so that they had like to have sent back the Deputies; But apprehending, by rendring the *Bourdelois* disperate, they might throw themselves into the Arms of the *Spaniards* already advanced too far, they found out a medium very proper to compose all, which was to shorten the Trea- and come to a Conference, in which those Articles that could not be granted, should be remitted to the King, rather then to send away

the

the Deputies. It being more then probable, that *Marsin* would take new courage by the discontents of the people, and the well-affected themselves, seeing their hopes frustrated, would easily be perswaded to admit the *Spanish* supplies.

For these Reasons the Deputies were recall'd, and after having offer'd them the favour of the General Amnesty for the inhabitants of the Town, in the same form as it was granted to the *Parisiens*, and as it was Registred in the Parliament, transferr'd to *Agen*, To the Princes and Princesses, and all others of their partie, as ample passports as they could desire; to the Generals and *French* Officers, leave to retire to their own houses, and to the Foreign Troops to depart out of the Kingdom. They promis'd to examine the Articles in a Conference the day following; All which being tendred to the Prince of

Conty.

Conty and the assembly of the Citizens in the *Burse*, in two Sessions, they resolv'd them in this manner following.

Upon the 1. and 2. (after the Kings Declaration of 1650. was read,) it was agreed, That a general Amnesty should be granted to the Citizens of *Bourdeaux*, with confirmation of their prviledges.

The 3. (which respected the Person of the Prince of *Condy*, and his indemnity) was referr'd to the King: but it was propos'd, that they might have a months time to give him notice of their Treaty, by a Messenger express, to whom the Kings Generals were to give a Passport to the Court, and from thence he was to have the Kings safe conduct into *Flanders*. That the Prince of *Conty*, and the Dutchess of *Longueville* were to be comprehended, if they pleased in the Amnesty of *Bourdeaux*, or if they desired

ſired one ſeparately, it ſhould be granted them, in the beſt form, and verified for them and their dependents in the Parliament of *Paris*, as that for the *Bourdelots* was to be in the Parliament of *Guienne*. That the Duke *d' Enguien*, and the Princeſs his Mother ſhould have Paſsports given them for their ſecurity and reſidence, in caſe they were inclin'd to abide in any part of the Kingdom; That *Marſin* ſhould have liberty to go to *Liege* by Sea or by Land, as he pleaſ'd, it being his native Country; and the ſame to the Count *de Mora*, the Marqueſs of *Luſignan*, *Lenet*, and the reſt, if they refuſ'd the benefit of the Amneſty.

Some difficulties aroſe about the *Gens d'armes*, the Princes Guards, and the Regiment of *Enguien*, the Generals pretending that thoſe Troops belonging to the King, they ought either to be disbanded, or

entred again into his Majesties service, but the Example of the Capitulation at *Bellegard* prevailing; They consented that they should have ticketts given them for quarters, till they came to the Frontiers of the Kingdom. The Regiments of *Marque*, and *Marquese*, with the rest of the Princes party, were all of them disbanded. The *Irish* had leave to retire into *Spain*, having secretly treated with the *French* Generals.

The Castles were surrendred, the Prisoners released, but the dismantling of Fort-*Cæsar*, *Bourg*, and *Libourne*, and other places upon the River, was referr'd to the pleasure of the King.

There was a long debate likewise upon the restitution of the Parliament in *Bourdeaux*, as also upon the Article about the taking off the Imposts establish'd at *Blay*, of two Crowns upon every Tun of

of Wine, the reimburſement of the debts contracted during the War, upon the Merchandizes and Rents, as alſo the revocation of the ſubſiſtence of the diſcharge of Taxes, and Tenths for ten years, and the ſuppreſſion of the Court of Aids, all which Articles being of more then ordinary importance, were left to the deciſion of his Majeſty.

Moreover, the Generals refus'd to comprehend *Villeneuf d' Agenois*, and the other Towns of the Princes ſide in this Treaty, alledging they were free to accep of the Amneſty, and return to their obedience without it if they pleas'd.

After this Conference the Duke of *Vandoſme* demanded of the Deputies what the ſentiment of the City of *Bourdeaux* would be.

these Articles being granted, the Kings General Pardon pass'd in the forme and manner requested, and the Souldiers drawn off: This was a long time under debate the 29. of *July* in the Burse, where in the presence of the Prince of *Conty*, the Duke *d' Enguien*, and *Lenet*, the Propositions of the Generals were read.

Which contained this, That the Articles being signed, they were to rely upon the word of the Generals as Persons of honour, seeing it would require time to procure the Kings confirmation, That the said Generals would enter into the City, allow Provisions to be brought in, and give security to the Princes and their Troops to retire; if otherwise they chose rather to expect the Kings Declaration before they suffered them to enter, in that case no Provisions were to be brought

brought in, nor liberty for any to come out but the Deputies themselves.

The Counsellors of the Parliament, who were then in *Bourdeaux*, and who were all of them Frondeurs, especially *Spagnet* and *Saux*, declar'd their opinions, That in that case War was to be preferr'd before a doubtful and uncertain Peace; That they ought not to consent that the Kings Declaration should be registred any where, but in the Parliament sitting in *Bourdeaux*: Nor the Generals permitted to enter into the City: But the Prince of *Conty* and *Lenet* were of another minde, and declar'd that they ought to treat with their Sovereign in termes of obedience and respect.

In this Intrigue they took this expedient, To cause the peace to be published, To attend the Kings ratification, with mutual Hostages on

both ſides without admitting the Generals into the Town. To this was to added, That (the people beginning to tumult and cry out for an end of the Treaty, and their miſeries) the Troops ſhould be ſent away, and only ſome few days granted to the Princes, to adjuſt their Affairs; But the Generals would not condeſcend to theſe demands, replying, that if the peace was not abſolutely concluded, they could not draw off the Kings Troops from the Town; and that whilſt the Prince, Princeſſes, *Marſin*, *Lenet*, and others remain'd in the City, they muſt only expect the benefit of the bare ſuſpenſion of Armes agreed on by the *Truce* of the 30th. of *July*.

The Prince of *Conty* (who for himſelf and his whole family, had ſubcrib'd a Treaty with *Courville*, declar'd in the Aſſembly at the *Burſe*; that for his part he relied

relied upon the Generals Parole, nor should his interest or his families hinder the Citizens from obtaining a speedy remedy for their miseries, by the withdrawing off the Troops, That as for his part he was resolv'd to leave the Town forthwith, and retire to *Cadillac*.

It was declar'd likewise by the *Chevalier Todias*, That the Princess of *Condy* would retire to *L' Esparre*, and the Dutchess of *Longveville* to *Plassac*, there to expect either their passports, or the Amnesty. The Dutchess of *Longueville* as soon as hers was arriv'd, by the consent of the Duke her husband, retired out of the noise and clamours of the world, into a Monastery of Nuns in the Suburbs of *Moulins* in *Bourbonnois*.

The Deputies being return'd the same day, it was concluded that the Dukes might enter the Town, when

when they pleas'd, according to their condition and quality, and the honour due to His Majesties Armes, and that the Princes troops should withdraw as was desired.

The Passports were brought to the Princess of *Conay*, the Duke *d'Enguien*, *Marsin*, *Lenet*, & the same day were dispatch'd to Court, the Count of *Montesson* from the Duke of *Vandosm*, and the *Conte de Marinville* from the Duke of *Candale*, for the ratification of the Treaty; The 3d. of *August* the Dukes were receiv'd into the Town, with great Ceremony, and the universal applause of the people who but few days before were of a cleer contrary mind. The Dukes, to demonstrate the entire confidence they had in them, dismiss'd their own Guards, and caus'd their houses and persons to be guarded by the inhabitants. They elected new Jurats, and the Assemblies which

were

were held in the *Burse*, were removed to the Town-house. The Princess with the Duke *d' Enguien* her Son, went to *Chastillon de Medoc*, *Marsin* into *Spain* by Sea; The Count *de Fiesco* took Post thither by land, the Prince of *Conty* retired to *Cadillac*, where he found *Langlade*, Cardinal *Mazarine*'s Secretary sent thither to assist at the Treaties of *Bourdeaux*, but falling sick he could not be present at the Conclusion.

Colonel *Baltasser* entred himself into the Kings service with 600 Foot, and 400 Horse. Monsieur *de la Rocque*, who was at that time with some Horse and Foot, at the City of *Perigueux*, followed the example of *Baltasser*, and took up Armes for the King, the said *la Rocque* conceiving a jealousie, that the Marquess *de Chanlo*, Governour of that Town, had a design to take him Prisoner, went out himself

with some of his freinds, and repairing to the Commanders of the Kings forces, was an occasion of a Treaty with the Inhabitants of that place, in order to their returne to their Obedience. Father *Ythier* a Jesuite, by directions from Cardinal *Mazarine*, led the Dance, and not only disposed the mindes of the Inhabitants, but observing what pass'd, gave intelligence to Father *Bertaut*, who follow'd the business whilst *Ythier* was sick.

Besides this, another private Treaty was set on Foot with the *Irish* of that *Garrison*; But the Governour, (not fully confiding in that Nation, disgusted with those that had ordered them thither, and not satisfied with those that had receiv'd them) kept so vigilant an eye over them, that having a suspition of some design, he caus'd their Officers to be secur'd, and dispersst the Soldiers amongst

amongst his own companies he most trusted.

The Duke of *Candale* (who was too Generous to approve of a victory obtain'd by Circumvention or treachery) could not endure any such dishonorable ways, but resolv'd to besiedge that City, and reduce it with his Sword in his hand according to the more Glorious methods of War.

He had already caus'd the Artillery to be embarqu'd, and dispatch'd the Marquess *de Sovebeuf*, with part of his Troops, (commanded by the Marquess *de Cavillac*, and the Count *de St. Germain*) to invest it; But the Citizens, knowing how prejudicial it would be to expect a formal Siedge, resolv'd after the example of the *Bourdelots*, to betake themselves to their Arms, and force the Guard

of

of the Gates out of the hands of the Garrison. The Governour having notice of their design, and being at that time in Treaty about leaving the Countrey, upon condition he might be permitted to march with his Troops to the Prince of *Condy*, his Master; he drew up all his men immediatly in the great Market-place, and his head being a little hot with wine, (having been at a Wedding-dinner) he went hastily (accompanied only with his Page, and one of the Consuls of the City) to the house of *Budan* the Kings Attourney, to demand the reason, how they durst hold such private Assemblies without his cognizance and permission; when he came there, they repuls'd him very rudely, and told him there was no such Assembly; but he pressing on to enter by force, some of the Attourneys friends discharg'd their Firelocks upon

upon him, so that he fell down dead in the place, upon which the Inhabitants taking heart, they issued into the streets arm'd, crying out, *Viva il Ré e la Pace, Long live the King and the Peace*, and dragging his body about in a most barbarous manner. The Soldiers were in no small confusion upon this accident, the Officers could not keep them together, nor oppose them against the fury of the people: they running from their colours, some one way, some another, insomuch that the City remain'd entirely in the Citizens hands, without further obstacle, who immediately dispatch'd a Messenger to the Marquess *de la Douze*, to desire a Passport for their Deputies to wait upon the Duke of *Candale*, from whom they desired the benefit of the Amnesty, and to return to their obedience to his Majesty, as they accordingly did, one of the

most

most seditious amongst them being hang'd up, several others banish'd, and the Officers and Captains of the Quarters chang'd.

Villeneuf d' Agenois, proud that they had resisted the Count *de Harcourt*, and defeated his attempts; emulating the fury of the *Olmiera* of *Bourdeaux*; and in imitation of those inhabitants they listed several Companies, boasting to defend their liberty. To suppress their insolence, the Kings forces under the Command of the Marquess *d' Aubeterre* approach'd the Town, at the time when their grain being ripe, (with which that place does exceedingly abound) the Inhabitants were preparing for Harvest; so that the Citizens foreseeing the loss of their Revenues, and that they could not live happily, being deprived of their estates, they preferr'd the fear of misery before the ambition of

of liberty, and sent Deputies to the Prince of *Conty*, supplicating him to send them succour, or make their Peace. But *Bourdeaux*, having already capitulated, and the Prince of *Conty* laid down his Arms, and retir'd to *Cadillac*, they began to treat with the *Conte de Vaillac*, and afterwards with the Duke of *Candale*, who sent thither *la Ribere* a Counsellour of State, and Commissary of his Army, with whom their Amnesty was concluded, upon condition that their walls should be pull'd down, their fortifications demolished, and the Citizens who had bin too busie and pragmatical, to pay 4000 Pistols; besides, to deliver 20 persons prisoners, to be dispos'd of as the Duke pleas'd, two of which were hang'd presently, *Duretete* also arrested by Order from the Count *d' Estrade*, was executed at the same time.

Whilst

Whilst the Duke of *Vandosme* and *Candale*, were proceeding with great sweetness and Moderation, towards the settlement of Affairs in *Bourdeaux*, they omitted not to watch over the Actions of some perfidious persons, who became more savage and brutal, by how much the Generals (repleat with all vertue) used them with more then ordinary kindness and courtesie.

Sir *George Cartret* an *Englishman* had intelligence, that one *Edwards*, sent by the Parliament of *England*, lay privately in a certain place in the Town, blowing up the coals of Rebellion, which were not quite extinct, but lay still glowing in the hearts of some seditious people. About the same time a small *Felucca* was taken casually, with Letters from *Lenet* to the said *Edwards*, inviting him to a Counsel which was to be

held

held aboard the *Spanish* Admiral. Two Citizens of *Bourdeaux* were apprehended likewise with Letters from the said *Lenet*, to several persons in the Town, and particularly to certain Ladies.

By all these Discoveries, it being sufficiently clear their design was to reunite with the *Spaniards*, and to revive the hopes of the *Frondeurs*, which were not yet quite extinguish'd, the Dukes were more vigilant then before, and applied themselves with all imagineable diligence, to find out fit remedies for these wounds, which were not yet well closed.

After the Procession of the 15. of *August*, *Espagnet* was imprisoned, and sent with a good Guard to the Castle of *Angoulesme*. Passports were given to several persons suspected to contrive new troubles, to remove elsewhere, among which were the Counsellors *du Duke*,

de

de Manvesin, and *la Chese*: Some Troops were commanded towards *Merau*, to be imbark'd, if need were, in the Kings Ships, in order to the ingaging of the *Spanish* Fleet, which was then at Anchor within sight of *Royan*, a small Town, but of great strength, and importance, having *Xaintonge*, on its right hand, and the Country of *Medoc* on its left. Other Souldiers were sent into *Xaintonge*, where the whole Countrey was in Armes apprehending the landing of the *Spaniards* in those parts. And all Inconveniences were with such diligence prevented, by the order of *Mazarine*, that the Rebellion could by no wayes take Footing again, nor disturb the peace and tranquillity of the *Bourdelots*. Who being grown wise at their owne cost had found that the worth and excellency

cellency of good Orders is not to be discern'd, without a sence and experience of disorders.

THE

The HISTORY *of the Managements of*
CARDINAL MAZARINE.

Part II. Lib. II.

AFfairs going on in this manner in *Guienne*, with ſuch advantage to the King, and glory of the Cardinal, whoſe fortune appear'd more and more favourable to him in all his Enterprizes. In the other parts, on the Frontiers of *Flanders*, the Armies encamp'd themſelves with different deſignes. The *Spaniards* with the Prince of *Condy*, truſting in the greatneſs of their force, which conſiſted of 30000 fighting men, extended their quarters and lay at large, ſeeking to allure the *French* Army to a Battel, becauſe if

if they obtein'd the victory, they hoped to advance to the very Gates of *Paris*, to encourage those as were dispos'd to sedition, to create new troubles before the Affairs in *Guienne* were compos'd to the advantage of the King, and by forcing their way into the heart of the Countrey, to fill the whole Kingdom with horrour and confusion. The number of their Counsellors being great, the opinions were various what course they were to steer to bring their designs to a happy issue: For though the Prince of *Condy* stood firm in his opinion of marching to the *Seine*, without engaging in any tedious Leagure; yet the *Spanish* Captains were backward in concurring with the undaunted thoughts of this warlike Prince, as being fearful to engage their Army in some desperate Affair, or puff up the Prince with too much glory,

glory, of whose instability, as a *French*-man, (though their experience since has convinc'd them of his constancy) it appear'd, they were not a little jealous: after various consultations upon the best and most seasonable expedient, it was resolv'd all ways should be tried to force the Enemie to a battel, and according to the event of that, they might proceed afterwards to other resolutions. With these designes the Army advanc'd, facing the *French* for several days, and parted only by the River *Oyse*.

The Mareschal *de Turenne*, though in number inferiour to the *Spanish* Army, out of the greatness of his courage, would with all his heart have accepted of the Combate, but his generous Spirit was restrain'd by the mature experience he had gain'd, to his great glory,

glory, in 22 *Campaigne's*, in which, though young, he had always the Principal Command; besides, he was with-held by express orders from the Cardinal, who considering very wisely, that the fortune of the whole Kingdom, depending upon that Army, they ought not to expose their past labours, their present condition, and their future hopes, to the hazard and uncertainty of a Battel, with so much disadvantage; wherefore in this case, following the example of that politick Roman, who by his cunctation and delays destroy'd the Army of the *Carthaginians*; He contented himself to Alarm the Enemies Camp, now in the flanck, now in the Front, now in the Rear, and by forcing them, somtimes to keep close, somtimes to hasten, somtimes to retard their March, reduce them to a scarcity of provisions, and finally to fruftrate all the designes

they

they had contrived against *France*. But their being in the Mareschal *Turenne* no less, then in the Prince of *Condy* an ardent and immense desire of glory, he could not satisfie the fervour of his mind, if in so conspicuous an occasion he gave not some proof or testimony of his valour. He past the River therefore one day with 7 or 800 Horse, and joyning with his main Guard, which was kept on the other side, he fell upon the Enimies Guards at the head of the Fens of *Fansomme*, and charg'd them so briskly, that he beat them into their main Body, took several Prisoners, and return'd with great honour to his quarters.

In the meantime the King, the Cardinal, and the whole Court arriv'd at the Army the 24. of *July*, where he was received with extraordinary applause, there being drawn up in excellent Order an hundred

hundred Squadrons of Horſe, and 18 Battalions of Foot, in all about 16000 old Souldiers, well inured to the Warres, with a great Number of experienc'd Officers, and Reformadoes. The Mareſchal *de Turenne* being willing to entertain the King with the ſight of a Skirmiſh, very much deſired by his Majeſty, who is naturally Martial: He forded the *Oyſe* with his light Horſe, *Gens d' armes*, and about a Thouſand other ſelect Horſe, and fell again upon the ſame Guards of the enemie and beat them back: The Prince of *Condy*, being confident, that upon the arrival of the King, the *French* Generals would diſpoſe themſeves for a Battel, he put his Troops in Order, and ſtood firm, obſerving their motion, till the King was retreated, and underſtanding afterward it was but a party of Horſe, he was much

troubled he had not advanc'd, and try'd his fortune in a charge.

The King remain'd all that day in the Camp, animating every body with the Majesty of his presence, and filling them with an impatient desire of signalizing themselves in his service.

He dined at the Mareschal *Turenne*'s, with a great number of his principal Officers, who had the honour to be called by his Majestie to his own Table. He supped with the Mareschal *de la Ferte Seneterre* in the same order, and return'd to lodge in the Mareschal *de Turenne*'s Quarters, in the midst of the Army. The Cardinal having given the Generals Orders and Instructions how they should regulate themselves that *Campagne*, return'd with the King to *Paris*.

Two or three days after the Kings departure, the *Spanish* Army quitted their Posts, and took their March directly towards *San Simon*

and'

and at *Serocourt* paſs'd over the *Somme*. The *French* Army follow'd them by the way of *la Fere*, and quarter'd at *Chery*, and *Maiau*, and paſs'd the *Oyſe*, at the place where it formes it ſelf into a little *Iſland*, and a little above *Verduel*, and *Trauesſy*, they drew into *Battalia*, from whence they march-to *Fargny*, where they encamp'd; obſerving always the enemy, that they might not have time to ſit down before any place, and entrench themſelves, which was their deſign, after they found how difficult it was to draw the *French* to an engagement.

The Prince of *Condy*, ſuſpecting that *Turenne* would fall upon his Rear as he was paſſing St. *Simon*, he march'd through with all ſpeed, and lodged within a league of *Ham*, doubting he would attaque that moſt important place, ſcituate upon the *Somme*, betwixt St. *Quintin* and *Peron*.

This sudden motion obliged the *French* Generals to advance to *Chauny*, a Town upon the *Oyse*, and from thence to *Noyon*, the chief City of a County upon the same River, with a strong wall about it, and well-peopled, where they made a halt for some days, while the *Spaniards* facing them, the Prince of *Condy* pass'd with six thousand men at *Magny*, and march'd from thence to *Roye*, and approaching it in three several places, he forced it to surrender: *Turenne* hearing what had pass'd, and suspecting he might surprize some of the Towns upon the *Somme*, he advanc'd to *Magny*. *Condy* designing against *Corbie*, pretended to march with part of his Army towards *Beauvais*, to draw the *French* Army from their Post, and at the same time to invest *Corbie*.

Turenne, who by long experience understood the Arts of the Prince, and

and knew very well he would not engage himself far in *France*, with so many strong Towns at his back, and an Army in his flanck, in stead of following him, as seemed requisite by the Rules of War; On the 9. of *August* he marched to *Magny*, where they made Bonefires and rejoycings in the Camp, for the happy news of the reduction of *Bourdeaux*, which much encouraged the Army, so that speedily passing the River, he dispatch'd the *Comte de Schomberg*, with 400 Horse and 200 Foot, to reinforce the Garrison of *Corbie*, and prevent the Princes design.

At the same time the whole *French* Army march'd towards *Ham*, pass'd the River in the night, and lodg'd on the other side, where *Turenne*, having intelligence that the Count *de Maille*, with a large Convoy of Ammunition, and 4000 Pioneers was departed from

Cambray, to reinforce the *Spanish* Army, in case they should invest any place; Incontinently with the greatest part of his Horse, and a commanded party of Foot, the the next morning at break of day he clap'd himself in the way that the Convoy was to pass, with resolution to set upon them: But the Prince having smelt his design, (as being no less acquainted with the Practices of *Turenne*, and the greatest part of his Commanders, most of them having serv'd under him) and that there was nothing to be done at that time, turning head with his light Horse, and marching with all diligence towards the *Somme*, sent advice by *Polenet* (Groom of his Chamber,) to the Count *de Maille*, to return again with his Convoy to *Cambray*.

Polinet, returning back the same day

day was taken Prisoner by a Party of the Royallists, who understanding by him, and afterwards by the Scouts (which had been at the very Gates of *Cambray*) that *Maille* was retreated, and that the Prince having cast two Bridges of Boats over the *Somme*, had pass'd it, and lodg'd himself upon the banck of it, betwixt *Corbie* and *Bre*, *Turenne* return'd with great dexterity towards his Camp, which was already advancing towards him; and having joyn'd with the Mareschal *la Ferte*, they secured their Baggage under the walls of *Peronne*, and encamp'd at a Village not far from that Town, and at no great distance from the *Spanish* Army, taking possession of a convenient place to sustain a battel, if occasion offered it.

The

The Prince in the mean time believ'd he ſhould catch *Turenne* unprovided, and conſtrain him to fight; and in this confidence he march'd all night long, and with ſo much expedition, that the next morning, in ſight of *Peronne*, he found the enemies baggage with its Guards, who having no Alarm, thought his coming impoſſible: But his men being very weary with the tedioufneſs of their March, he forbore falling upon them, *Turenne* in the mean time having drawn his Army to *Mont St. Quintin*, which is an Abby upon a Hill. The Prince found him in ſo good Order, he had no minde to provoke him at ſuch a diſadvantage. However *Condy* made as if he was come on purpoſe to attaque him, thereby to hold him in ſuſpence, till he could receive the Convoy from *Cambray*, without which there was no probability of being

being able to lay Siedge to any place. But in the mean-time, while he endeavored by ſmall skirmiſhes to amuſe them with the expectation of a Battel: he caus'd his Vauntguard to march directly towards Saint *Quintin*, leaving the Kings Camp on the right hand, and a great Wood betwixt both Armies: *Turenne*, having his eyes open upon all occaſions, and not willing the enemie ſhould march directly before him, as the Prince of *Condy* did deſign, he advanc'd with equal diligence, and prevented him at a Poſt which the Prince thought to have poſſeſt: *Condy* was hereupon obliged to make a halt, by which means the Armies were once again brought to face one another, there being nothing betwixt them but a little valley, and that very eaſie and acceſſible, above which the *French* placed a ſtrong Guard over againſt

a Wood which ran up almost to the Enemies Camp, not above a Musquet-shot distant, Here both Armies stood their ground, facing one another three or four days; with great wariness, the Prince and the *Spanish* Generals, being unwilling to come to an Engagement, in a place the Mareschals had chosen so much to their advantage.

On the 14. of *August*, there happen'd a smart skirmish, in which the two Counts, brothers of *Russy* ingaged themselves too far, and *Turenne*'s Lieutenant-Collonel was slain: The same day the Prince of *Taranto*, the Marquess *de Bouteville* and the Count *de Duraz*, being upon the Prince of *Condy*'s out-Guards, and curious of seeing and saluting the Mareschal *Turenne*, who at the same time was by accedent at his, they sent a Trumpet to desire they might have the honour

nour to kiſs his hands, which being granted, they were received by *Turenne* with his uſual kindneſs and affability, and diſcours'd together with reciprocal Complements. Some Gentlemen alſo ſtom the Kings Camp, went to pay their reſpects to the Prince of *Condy*, who drew near within 200 Paces of *Turenne*, and poſſibly with a deſire to ſpeak with him; but *Turenne* being aware of it, pretending ſome buſineſs, he departed from that place without ſtaying for the Invitation, which as was ſuppoſed, the Prince was about to ſend him by one of his Gentlemen.

Two houres before day, upon the 25. of *Auguſt*, the Prince raiſed his Camp, and march'd towards St. *Quintin*, of which *Turenne* having advertiſement, and ſuſpecting the attaque of ſome of thoſe places, he cauſed the Count *de Beaujeu* to repaſs the *Somme* with 1200 Horſe, and

and 600 Foot, with Orders to keep nigh *Ham* and Saint *Quintin*, to be ready to succour which of those places he should fall upon: The *French* Generals repass'd the River at *Peronne*, marching all Night, aud the next day directing their way towards *Ham*. *Beaujeu*, being arriv'd at Saint *Quintin*, he had news that the Count *de Duraz* was with 2000. Horse commanded out of the Enemies Army, and advanc'd to invest *Guise*; whereupon with all diligence crossing the *Fere*, he put a good supply of men very seasonably into that place, of which the Prince of *Condy* having notice, he commanded the said Count back to the Army, after he had fac'd the Town 12 houres together.

The Prince perceiving his designes hitherto ineffectual, and much troubled to find so much Conduct and Courage in the Kings

Cap-

Captains, he resolv'd to try another way, advancing his Army within a League of *Ham*, distending it along a little River (which there dischargeth it self into the *Somme*,) with a resolution to attaque that place, or if the Kings Army appear'd to relieve it, to fall desperately upon them, and with his sword in his hand, in that field, to determine all differences and emulations. He was no sooner arrived at his appointed Post, but he saw the *French* Army on the other side ready to flanck him, and at his back the Count *de Beaujeu*, who having repass'd the *Oyse*, had placed himself at *Fargny*, to take such resolutions as the accidents of Affairs should direct.

Three weeks together the Armies lay facing one another in this posture, without any Action: at length the Prince of *Condy* and *Spanish* Generals, despairing of their

their design'd Inroad into *France*, or of giving them battel, or surprizing any Town upon the *Somme*, by reason of the great vigilancy and precaution of the *French* Generals, they grew very confus'd and variable in their Counsels. *Condy* had insinuated into the *Spanish* Ministers and Captains, that upon his entrance into *France*, he should meet with so much welcom and assistance, that they should make their way more by the good-will of the people, then by the sword: But not managing his Interest dexterously, and wanting the means the Cardinal had, to inveigle and cajole by recompences, those who were of a contrary judgment, he found himself deluded, and those persons who had promis'd him their fidelity, in lieu of proving constant to his party, let themselves be corrupted by the said Cardinal, and served more to endamage and prejudice him, then

to

to assist and profit him.

The generous mind of the Prince being netled in point of reputation, (which being lessned already by his daily misfortunes, would be absolutely lost, if with so much preparation, and so great forces, he should consume unprofitably a whole *Campagne*, which at first did seem to promise so much advantage and glory to *Spain*, and threaten so much ruine and destruction to the Kingdom of *France*) in a full Counsel of War he propos'd the Enterprize of *Rocroy*, making good his opinion both with martial and politick Arguments.

He acquainted them, that he was inform'd the Garrison was very weak, by reason the Chevalier *Montague*, Governor of the place, upon confidence that he could not be attaqued, had sent away the Regiment of the Crown to *Rhetel*: That therefore in 12 dayes time it might be taken,

That

That there would be no great difficulty to invest it, in respect there were no great Rivers to pass, and the Siedge would be very easie, since the Town lying betwixt thick woods, whosoever were first to gain the Passes, might be able to maintain them & defend their lines with a very few men. That *Rocroy* would be of very great importance being a Key of the Frontiers of *Picardy*; and though indeed the loss of it would be no great detriment to *France*, yet it was very considerable to the *Spaniards*; for by this place the *French* made all the adjacent Countrey pay Contribution, and a great part of the Province of *Luxenbourg*.

These Considerations of the Prince of *Condy* were excellently good, and his opinion credited and receiv'd as an Oracle by all the Commanders: But the *Spaniards* who seldom put their foot into the

the water, till they have first sounded the bottom, and who hold Prudence as an inseparable Companion of all their Actions, though in appearance, they inclined to the Propositions of the Prince, by way of Complaisance, yet in reality they did not assent in their hearts, for it being formerly by agreement betwixt them and the said Prince, declar'd, that all such Towns as should be taken within the distance of three Leagues from the Frontiers of *Flanders*, should belong absolutely to the Prince, they considered, that they should expose and consume their Army in the acquisition of a place that would adde nothing to the advantage of their Crown, and would be rather instrumental towards the reconciliation of the said Prince with the Court of *France*, then any furtherance towards the General peace,
of

of *Spain*: To this they added, that if the Siege ſhould happen to prove longer then was propos'd, they ran a great hazard of conſuming their Men, their Money, and their patence; So that at length their Souldiers failing, they ſhould no longer be Maſters of the Field, in which conſiſted the hopes of thoſe, who relying upon their aſſiſtance, were contriving new Cabals in *France*. The Count *de Fuenſaldagne*'s judgment was to lay ſiege to *Arras*, ſeeing they had an Army big enough to undertake it, and maintain a line of Circumvallation about it.

Others were of opinion, that encamping ſtill with their Army in the Enemies Countrey, they ſhould not only put them to a great burden of the War, but might with money and promiſes encourage and propagate their Intelli-

gen-

gence, whereby to obtain an advantageous victory, which could never be compleat unless they advanc'd into the very bowels of *France*, and divided that powerful and opulent City of *Paris* from their Union with the King; But as this had been endeavored, even from the beginning without any effect, so was there less hopes now, especially since by the pacification of *Guienne*, the interest of the Princes was in a declining condition, and the credit of the Cardinal much increased. At last the Enterprise of *Rocroy* was resolv'd on, To which effect the Count *de Ligneville* advanced with 3000 Horse with all speed, to block up the Town the 5th. of *September* by break of day, and was followed by the whole Army, which was so unexpected, and not foreseen by the Governour, that

that 100 of his best Souldiers were shut out of the Garrison, being gone a scouting according to custom. The *French* Generals did their utmost to put in supplies, but the ways being narrow and difficult, they could by no means effect it.

The *Spaniards* having possest themselves of all the Passes, the Prince of *Condy* took up his quarters at a place call'd *l' Vnghero*. The Count *de Fuensadagne* in the Champion Country, extending his quarters from the Main body, to the watch above: The space from thence to the Prince of *Condy*'s Post was possess'd by the *Lorainers*, Their Army being Lodg'd in this posture, they began immediatly their line of Circumvallation, which in 4 days was compleated, and on the 11th of *September* they open'd their *Trenches*, directing their approaches

proaches to the Bulwarks of *Chene*, and *del Perdu*, and to the Half-moon or *Ravelin* betwixt them.

The Commanders in chief of the *Spaniards* in this Leagure, were the Count *de Fuenſaldagne* General, the Count *de Garzias* Lieutenant-General, and the Prince of *Ligny* in the third place. Prince *Uldric* of *Wittembourg* was Captain-General of the *German* Horſe.

The *Lorraine* Troops were Commanded by the Count *de Ligneville*. The Prince of *Condy*'s, by the Marqueſs *de Bouteville*, the Count *de Briole*, the Count *de Duraz*, and the Prince *de Tarante*, who a while after left the Camp, diſguſted with the *Spaniards*, becauſe they would not admit him to the Command conferr'd upon him by the Prince.

Rocroy was well-provided with Vi-

Victuals, Ammunition, Cannon, Forts, and a good wall. Their chief want was of men, there being in the whole Garrison not above 450 Foot, 50 Horse, 30 Inhabitants in Armes, and about 90 Peasants that had fled thither; The foss was full of water, and the Plain without the Works spungie and morish, but 4 or 5 Foot deep, chalkie and firm.

The *French* Generals, at the first motion of the Enemies Army, perceived immediately they could have no other design but upon *Rocroy*; and because they judged it impossible, either to disturb them in their Siege, or put relief into the Town, they march'd without delay to *la Fere*, pass'd the River, and by the way of *Heppe*, *Auchenne* and *Pollieux*, they came to *Armilly*, from whence they dispatch'd away a strong party to joyn with the Count de *Grand Pre*, who was already advanc'd from *la Fere*

to

to inveſt *Mouſon*. The Prince of *Condy* foreſaw, that *Turenne*, to recompence the loſs of *Rocroy*, would endeavor to get *Mouſon*, and therefore had very opportunely commanded the Count *de Briole* to convey himſelf to *Stenay*, with 400 Horſe and 1200 Foot, to joyn with the Marqueſs of *Perſan's* Troops, who upon the ſurrender of *Rhetel* were retir'd into that Town, and with them to have a ſpecial eye upon the conſervation of the adjacent places, which were under his command; accordingly the Count *de Briole*, underſtanding the motion of the *French* Army, march'd immediately to *Beaumont*, a Village within a league of *Mouſon*, from whence he put into the town ſome Companies of Foot, returning with the reſt to *Stenay*, to be ready upon occaſion to ſuccour the Garriſons of *Clermont* and St. *Menhaud*, if the *French* finding the Garriſon of *Mouſon* too ſtrong, ſhould turnback upon ſom of theſe places.

But

But notwithstanding these supplies, the *French* sate down before *Mouson*, dividing their Army into four quarters, one at *Ablemont*, where *Turenne* lay; the second at *Vaux* where *la Ferte* lodg'd, the third, by the River, commanded by the Marquess *de Uxelles*, Lieutenant-General; and the fourth in the Suburbs on the other side the *Mose*, where the Count *de Plessis*, son of the Mareschal of that name, entred with his Regiment of Foot and some Dragoons. And because it was necessary to secure their quarters in the said *Fauxbourg*, from any prejudice they might receive from the besieged, by reason of a Fort or *Tenaglia* they had at the very point of the Bridg; *Turenne* past the River himself, and caus'd it to be assaulted in his Presence, which was perform'd with so much courage and good Order, that they presently made

presently made themselves Master of it; the Defenders retreating into the Town; The taking of this Fort rendred the Bridge unserviceable to the enemy, and secur'd their quarters in the suburbs. The Count *de Beaujeu*, who lay with a Body of Horse at *Lobe*, 4 Leagues from *Rocroy*, to observe the motion of the *Spaniards*, came likewise to *Mouson*, and quartred with his Horse in the *Fauxbourg*.

Mouson lies upon the river *Mose*, one branch of which runs thorow the Town, the other washes it on the right side; it hath a fair Bridge, and at the end of it was the said Fort or *Tenaglia*, which commanded the suburbs, which lie at a little distance: The Town is encompass'd with a strong wall, and Towers of an ancient Fabrick, fill'd in many places with earth, and flancked with half-Moons and Ravelins. On one side,

the ditches are watered with the River, which runs very pleasantly thorow them: besides which, it has very strong out-works which encompass it from one side of the River to the other with Bulwarks and Half-Moons. There were in the Town about 1500 Foot, and 200 Horse, under the Command of Collonel *Wolf* a German, with sufficient provision of all sorts, and 18 Pieces of Cannon.

The *Tenaglia* at the Foot of the bridge being taken, and the *Fauxbourg* secured, the *French* opened their Trenches, and in 4 or 5 days possest themselves of the out-works, lodging themselves upon the brow of the Ditch in two places, where they planted three batteries. The Marquess *de Castelneau*, Lieutenant-General lodg'd himself upon the bank on that side next the River, and possessing himself of a half-Moon, which

which the besieged had deserted, and attempted to place himself at the Foot of the wall, to spring a Mine, but he was beaten off by the Defendants, with Granadoes and other Fire-works: upon which the besiegers were obliged to break the Counterscarp, which was lined with stone, and throw themselves into the Ditch to advance under Covert with their Galleries, even to their very Pallisadoes and in this attempt the *Vidame* of *Laon* (son to the Count *de Boussy*, Nephew of the Mareschal *Turenne*, a brave youth of 18 years of age) was slain.

The *French* made their approaches over against a great Tower, and passing the Ditch without the help of a Gallery, they began their Mines at the Foot of it, and springing one of them, which taking effect, they lodg'd themselves in the said Tower, continuing their work in the Mine, that they might utterly

demolish it, as they did on the other side, with more then ordinary diligence, pressing hard upon the Town to take it, before the *Spaniards* should make themselves Masters of *Rocroy*, so that their Mines being ready to spring, the besieged fearing they should not be able to resist an assault, resolv'd to capitulate, which they did upon the 26. of *September*, 18 days after they were attaqued, the Governor marching out with 1400 choice men.

While the *French* were intent upon the taking of this Town, the *Spaniard* was no less busie about the reduction of *Rocroy*, hoping to compel that Garrison to surrender, before they lost *Mouson*, and so come in time enough to its relief; which if it succeeded, they should easily obtain their intent: having finished their trenches, their approaches and their batteries, (in

five

five of which they had dispos'd 23 whole Cannons, two upon the brow of the Ditch, and 3 in the field) The 16. of *September* the Prince of *Condy* caus'd 400 of his men to attaque their covert way, and Lodge themselves upon the *Counterscarp*, falling furiously upon the Half-moon, betwixt the two Bulwarks, which was with great courage defended by the besieged. The Governour wanting neither experience nor valour, by frequent and well-managed Sallies, rendred the Enterprize much more difficult then was imagin'd; and because the Count *de Fuensaldagne* had always oppos'd this Siege, from whence nothing could be expected but the consuming of their souldiers, the loss of one of the Kings Towns, and a Conquest without profit, it falling to the Prince of *Condy*s share; upon which score, some sharp expressi-

ons falling out betwixt him and the ſaid Prince, the Arch-Duke thought fit to come himſelf to the Camp, to compoſe by his prudence and dexterity, all differences betwixt them. But if his coming did one way appeaſe the mind of the Prince, another way it diſcontented him as much, he being very ſenſible, that the Arch-Dukes preſence would diminiſh the Glory which in the taking of that Town he conceiv'd did belong ſolely to himſelf, of this diſguſt he gave a cleer proof, refuſing to receive the word from the Arch-Duke, which he highly reſenting, Commanded the Prince of *wirtenbourg* (who was lodg'd in the ſame quarter with the Prince of *Condy*) not to obey his orders any more. But this Affair likewiſe was accomodated by the Duke of *Lorrain*, who arrived at that time at the *Spaniſh* Camp, the Medium he found out was this;

That

That the word ſhould be given neither by the Arch-Duke nor by the Prince, but by a third perſon Choſen to that purpoſe by them both.

The Duke of *Lorrain* pretending that by the ill Air of that place, his Troops were grown ſickly, and died daily: on a ſudden without the leaſt intimation to the Arch-Duke, he March'd off with his Forces, to the great wonder and aſtoniſhment of the other Generals, for without his forces which made up the third part of the Army, if the *French* ſhould attempt the relief of the Town, they might eaſily effect it, and force them to raiſe the Siege, not without great danger of a further diſaſter: wherefore the Count *de Fuenſaldagne* followed the ſaid Duke, who was already ſome leagues off: and overtaking him at *Mariambourg*, with much ado perſwaded him back to the Leagure.

The first Salley the besieged made, was upon those that were lodged on the Countrescarp, towards the point of the Half-Moon, by 60 choice men, arm'd all of them with a kind of Syths upon strong staves, with which having entred the work, they cut all in pieces that were advanc'd the most forward: after this Salley, another Captain issued out with 45 men, and two Granadeers; and entring into another work, advanc'd by the enemy against the Bulwark of *Chene*, under the Pallisadoe, to facilitate their passage into the ditch; they put all they found within it to the sword.

Yet notwithstanding, such brave opposition, the Besiegers ceas'd not to double their strength advancing to the Wall of the Bulwarks to open a breach with their Mines, & come to an assault: In the

mean

mean time the besieged made another Sally upon the *Spanish* quarter, doing them great mischief, and taking Prisoners a Lieutenant Colonel with a *Spanish* Captain. The besiegers some few days after, opening a way into the *Foss*, they pass'd it by the help of two Bridges of Bavins, and gave fire to their Mines under the aforesaid Bulwarks, one of which prov'd ineffectual, by the diligence of those that were within: the other took effect at the Bulwark of *Chene*, where the Governour received a wound in the Head by a Musquet-shot, who notwithstanding caus'd himself to be carried up and down in a Chair, where his Presence was most requisite. Two breaches in the mean time were made in the front of these bulwarks, and furiously assaulted by the *Spaniards*, and as stoutly defended by the Garrison. The same night the

besiegers were repuls'd in another assault upon the half-Moon, yet not so, but that they lodg'd themselves at the point of it, & carried it afterward, for they within not being able to defend it any longer, thought best to abandon it, especially there being no Port of Communication, which made them doubt, that if it hapned to be forc'd, all those men would be lost: of which they stood in need. The Governor having taken a review of the remainder of his men fit for service, and finding they amounted not to 300, and seeing the breaches open in the bulwarks, and another Battery began upon the *Courtin*, which had no defence without, nor water in the Ditch, That same night the enemy was ready for the assault, he resolv'd to capitulate, which was concluded on the 30th. of *September*, and on the first of *October*, he march'd out with 220 Souldiers, with honourable conditions, and was convoy'd to *Charleville*

This

This Town was deliver'd into the hands of the Prince of *Condy*, garrison'd by his souldiers, and the Government of it given to the Duke *d' Anguien* his son, which gave some resentment to such as were truly for the interest of his Majesty of *Spain*, who discoursing politickly among themselvs, said, that they had lost *Mouson*, and not gain'd *Rocroy*, for it remaining in the Princes hands, would serve rather to foment his pretensions, and facilitate his reconcilement with the Court of *France*, then to augment his affection to the service of *Spain*.

Rocroy being taken, the *Spanish* Army remain'd there for some days, to demolish their lines of Circumvallation, and make up the breaches, and finding themselves much weakned and harrass'd with that siege, they retired into the countrey, about *Avennes*, to refresh themselves, the Prince remaining at *Rocroy*, being fallen ill of a quartane Ague.

The

The Mareschal *de Turenne* having taken *Mouson*, as hath been related, left in it a Garrison of 600 Foot, with the Regiment of the Count *de Grand Pre*, giving him the Command of it: and passing the *Mose*, march'd directly towards *Meziers*, and whilst he lay there, he had News of the Surrender of *Rocroy*. At the same time the Count *de Novalles* advanc'd to *Vervins*, with 1500 men, and having taken it, Mareschal *Turenne*, March'd to *Aubigny*, to observe more narrowly the motion of the Enemy, and obstruct their attempting of any other place, and here he rested for some days: Whilst he was at *Meziers*, he sent the Marquess *d' Uxelles*, with 1200 men towards the Castle of *Bousancy*, which not being capable of relief from the Garrisons of *Stenay*, and the adjacent Towns, (by reason they were watch'd

with

with a Party of Horse under the Count *de* St. *Maur*) it surrendred before the Cannon came up.

The King was come from *Paris* the first day of *September*, and after a short stay at *Amiens*, removed to *Soissons* the 30. of the said month) and thence to *Laon*, in order to the relieving of *Rocroy*, which he had a design to have attempted, and to that purpose the Duke of *Elbeuf* was call'd out of *Picardy*, who with 3000 men lay quartered in those parts, to which the King joyn'd the greatest part of his Guards: but the Surrender hapning before all the Preparations were ready, those thoughts were laid aside, and chang'd into another resolution taken up by the Cardinal with great undauntedness and courage.

He judged it very convenient for the King to go to *Amiens*, whilst Affairs were in that posture

ſture, to cajole the Duke of *Chaunes* out of that City and *Cittadel*, who had inſinuated himſelf into the poſſeſſion of that place, after the death of his Brother, and as was doubted would keep it, contrary to the deſire of the Kings Counſel, and though the ſaid Duke having a conſiderable eſtate in *France*, and his mind well compoſ'd to the ſervice of the King, was ſuppoſ'd to have no other intent, but to create a jealouſie in the Court, therebyto addvance his fortune (which Arts are no where practiſed ſo much as in *France*) nevertheleſs, it was judg'd no ill piece of policy, to ſecure themſelves againſt the leaſt ſuſpicion of a perſon, who by the Variation of his mind, might contribute ſo largely to the prejudice of his Soveraign; And though the ſaid Duke had ſent to the Court the Letters which were writ him by the Prince of *Condy*,

full

full of invitations and promises if he would engage on his side, yet the Cardinal look'd upon it as a Seasonable piece of service, to make sure of that important place, considering how unstable the minds of men are, and particularly of that Nation, in whose brains there always boyls a certain vivacity, more turbulent, with the desire of Novelty, then the Waters with the Wind. All this was managed and effected without noise, the said Duke being contented to deliver it up to the Sieur *Bar*, and he in Exchange, to enter upon the Government of *Dorlans*, held by the said *Bar*; To which was added the Title of his Majesties Lieutenant General in the parts about *Dorlans*, and a certain sum of Money payd him for such Arms and Ammunition as he had provided at his own Charge, in the Cittadel of *Amiens*.

But

But the end of this Voiage was not barely the securing of *Amiens*, but to be more ready at hand to assist the Army with his Counsels, and (besides the usual Guards of Horse and Foot,) there being great numbers of the Nobles attending the King, with the one and the other, to succour the Army in time of need.

Nevertheless, it had not been amiss, had their Majesties stay'd in *Paris*, to prevent such accidents as might arise in that City, where the sinister intentions of some persons towards the Government, were not absolutely dispell'd, especially the Archbishop being decrepit, and the Cardinal *de Retz* to succeed him, new troubles might arise among the people, who would have pretended not to be satisfied without their Pastor, he being a person of much esteem amongst them for his Generosity.

But

But there being a necessity of the Kings going into the Field, the Cardinal thought (to evade all accidents that might happen, and to remove the said *Retz* out of *Paris*, as a person of too high and extravigant a spirit to be left behind) to offer him his liberty, and the Kings favour, upon condition he would renounce the hopes of his future succession, and retire to *Rome* with promise to stay there, and not return into *France*, in recompence of which he promis'd him an Equivalence to the Archbishoprick, though his Uncle was living, and other assistance besides, to augment his dignity and splendor.

Cardinal *de Retz*, though under the durance and inconveniences of a Prison, preferr'd the glory of his Constancy, before all other private considerations, and being puff'd up with hopes of seeing in a short time

time the face of things altered, either by the death of the Arch-bishop, or by the means of his friends at *Rome*, emulous of *Mazarine*, he stood firm in the Negative, not to quit his dignity, declaring, That for the King he would do this, or any thing else, to the very effusion of his blood, and loss of his whole estate, but knowing it to be no other but the Artifice and interest of *Mazarine*; he could not swallow so bitter a potion presented to him by his most irreconcileable enemy. The Pope, though not much inclin'd to the interest of *France*, declar'd that the Proposition in his judgment was honourable and practicable; of this also the Prisoner had notice, but it would not sweeten the bitterness of his mind, who bearing his adversity with great constancy, he gain'd the reputation of an intrepid person; and having found a way to write to the Sacred

cred Colledge of Cardinals in *Rome* Letters full of Lamentation, with earneſt requeſts to be aſſiſted with their Protection, by whom he did humbly conceive he ought not to be abandon'd, for fear of manifeſt prejudice to the dignity of the Purple. One of the Cardinals of principal credit amongſt them, ſeeing they were inclined to anſwer him, declar'd, in delivering his opinion, that he could not ſee why they ſhould engage in an Affair, more likely to prove a detriment to the Church, then any benefit to the priſoner, ſeeing they could give him no other aſſiſtance then by words, which would perſwade more by gentleneſs then by rigour. He urged moreover that Cardinal *Mazarine* was in the ſame or greater perplexities with the Parliament of *Paris*, and that nothing having been done in his behalf, though concurrent with the ſervice of the King his Maſter.

much

much less were they obliged to do any thing for Cardinal *de Retz* who was at that time in his Majesties displeasure.

The Counsel of this Cardinal being heard and approved as the best, gave occasion to the resolution they took of interceding to his Holiness, that out of his paternal care he would exhort his most Christian Majesty to grant Cardinal *de Retz* his liberty. The King shew'd himself very ready, and after divers Negotiations, the Dutchess of *Chevreuse* undertook it, shuffling in Conditions for the Duke of *Lorrain*, who though he was secured by the *Spaniards*, as we shall hereafter relate, Nevertheless, the Treaty about the Cardinal was not laid aside, but at last was concluded, upon Condition he should renounce his *Coadjutorship* of *Paris*, giving him as many Benefices as were Equivalent to that

Arch-

Arch-bishoprick, the revenue of which amounted to a vast sum.

This affaire was almost brought to a *Period*, all difficulties being reduc'd to two points, the one about the value of the Benefices, the other about the security for the performance, when the death of the Archbishop chang'd the face of Affaires, but though the Curates of *Paris*, all the factious party, and the friends of the Coadjutor, had rais'd new tumults in his behalf, nevertheless the Cardinal resolv'd to accept of the Conditions offered him.

Being brought therfore from the *Castle* of *Vincennes*, he was delivered into the hands of the Mareschal *de la Melleray*, who convey'd him to *Nantes*, where he was to remain till the Articles agreed on were accomplished, after which he was to be sent to *Rome*, and money given him for his Voiage, and subsist-

subsistence there, but he making his escape from *Nantes*, all things were disordered again, as we shall relate in its proper place.

In the mean time the enemies of *Mazarine*, seeing their Artifices and Cabals to ruine him ineffectual, they began to plot and contrive how to take away his life. It was divulged, that the Prince of *Condy* had a hand in this business, upon a suspicion that the Cardinal had attempted his life.

It is most certain (as was afterwards made manifest) that neither the one nor the other were true, but that all was plotted and designed by the malice of the common enemies.

One *Recous* and *Bertau* were gain'd and perswaded to do the deed, who being resolv'd upon the Enterprize, they began to frequent the *Louvre*, and to watch for a place and time to put their design in execution; it happened

ned that Letters were accidentally intercepted, which gave ſuch diſcoveries as were ſufficient to cauſe them to be apprehended: upon which, they freely declar'd their reſolution, to have ſtabb'd the Cardinal with a knife, as he was coming down (as he was accuſtomed every night) from the Kings Apartment, by certain private and ſtrait ſtairs. They were according to their deſerts condemn'd to be broken upon the wheel, the 11th. of *October* in *Paris*, near the *Baſtile*, in the great ſtreet of St. *Anthony*.

The Cardinal according to the gentleneſs of his nature, and as a true Prince of the Church, abhoring ſuch bloody ſpectacles, interceded very earneſtly for their Pardon, and had certainly obtain'd it, if in ſo enormous a caſe it could have bin done without violence to juſtice, which in ſuch accidents ought not to be overpowered by pity and compaſſion. There

There follow'd several other Executions in *Paris*, upon persons imprison'd for hainous Offences, but without doubt the Kings Clemency was greater then his Justice, they that received grace and pardon, being superiour in Number to those that were punish'd.

We cannot omit in this place the action of a delinquent, who being to loose his Head, declar'd, his ambition should triumph over his fate, and therfore before he was to appear upon the Scaffold, as he had been to go to a Feast, he put himself in a gay dresse, caus'd his face to be Shaved, his haire, curld and powdered, and his Mustaccio's turn'd up, boasting with an undaunted boldness, That Persons of Honour, even in the most ignominious death, ought to die like themselves.

And though clemency and too much indulgence gives but fresh bold-

boldness and encouragement to fall into the same crimes again, and is therefore look'd upon in many peoples opinions, as a very ill Maxime, yet that was no impediment to the present Councils, for to all generous minds, the opportunity of meriting the benedictions of such as received grace, being much rather to be chosen, then the imprecations of those which were punish'd, the Kings Ministers took this course, whereby their Charity working upon Heaven, has since produc'd those Miracles that have rendred his Government the happiest, who bearing the hereditary Title of most Christian, has to his everlasting honour added to it the Epithite of most merciful.

And certainly, they may justly be called Miracles, which were seen in *France*, in this Year 1653. for whilst it was expected, and too probably, that that Kingdome

could not avoid destruction by so many storms and tempests both at home, and from abroad. The Heavens cleered up on a sudden, and that Climebecame quiet & sedate, which wasbefore so dismally dreadful, for by the reduction of *Guienne* and *Bourdeaux*, being rid of that fastidious diversion, they were able to use those Armes in other places, which have since secured the Frontiers from daily Alarms; and penetrating into *Catalonia* and *Lombardy*, interrupted those designes, which by the favour of their antecedent Victories would have brought extraordinary advantage to t hinterest of *Spain*.

Whilst the military Affairs in *Catalonia*, *Guienne*, and *Champagne* were managed in this manner; in *Piemont* also they began to have a better face, and those doubts to clear up, which by reason of their want of assistance, the people of that Province might have reason-

ably

ably pretended, if to evade the calamities of a War, they had come to an Agreement with the *Spaniards*. For the Count *de Quincè* having past into *Piemont*, and by order from *Mazarine*, being enforc'd with fresh Troops from *France*, he advanc'd with 5 or 6000 men into the Enemies Countrey, and encamping at *Annone*, upon the Banks of the *Tanaro*, in a months time that he was there, he infested the Countrey about *Alexandria*, with continual incursions, after which he return'd into the Territory of *Montferrat*, and passing the *Po* at *Verrica*, he went to encamp above *Crescentino*, to observe the motion of the Marquess of *Caracene*, who having taken the field with 8000 men, was come to *Fontane* and *Palazzuolo* three miles distant. Here the Armies remain'd several days, observing one anothers motion, in which time the *French* made several excursions,

and one in particular with 1500 men as far as *Vercelli*; afterwards, before they drew off, *Quince* drew out his Horse into the Fields of *Bertola*, within Cannôn-shot of the enemies Camp, and challenged the *Spaniards* to a battel; but they holding it as a Maxime, to tire out the *French* fury with the *Spanish* Phlegme, laugh'd at his defiance.

This Gallantry of the *French* vanishing in this manner without effect, *Quincè* repass'd the *Po* in the Month of *July*, and entred afresh into *Montferrat*, passing the *Tanaro* upon a Bridge of Boats near *Asti*, and from thence having stay'd two days at *Rochetta*, he encamped at *Monbersel*. At the News of this March, the Marquess of *Caracene* cross'd the *Po* likewise with his Troops near *Pontestura*, and traversing *Montferrat*, came to *Felezzano*, to pass the

Tanaro

Tanaro at *Rochetta*; but discovering the enemy ready to oppose him, he went to pass it lower towards *Alexandria*, advancing as far as *Nizza de la Paglia*: *Quincè* stayed, observing his motion about 15 days at *Castel nuovo Bruzato*, where hapned daily skirmishes betwixt their Horse. But *Caracene* resolving finally to fall into *Piemont*, and by this diversion oblige the *French* to quit *Monferrat*, he pass'd the *Po* at *Pontestura*, and began to scour the Countrey round about, which yet was not sufficient to make *Quince* remove, who judging it a thing very prejudicial, to transfer the War into the Countrey of his Friends and Allies, he took another resolution; He sent his baggage to *Asti*, and forded the *Tanaro* at *Rochetta*, and so passing to *Bormida*, by the way of *Novi*, he came to *Serravalla* a great Village, above *Alexandria*, upon

the Confines of the Territories of *Genoa*, betwixt the Rivers *Scrivia*, aud *Orba*, and having sack'd it, he March'd towards *Tortona*, and *Castel nuovo di Scrivia*, making great Booties in those places, where he was not expected. Upon this *Caracene* was constrained to change his designes upon *Piedmont*, and pass with all diligence to *Alexandria*, draining his Garrisons, and drawing all the forces together he was able, to cut off the retreat of the *French* to *Nizza*: But *Quimè* having notice both of his motion and design, he march'd by *Cassino di Stradda*, by *Aicqui*, and by the vale of *Bistagno* and *Nizza*, where the *Spanish* Army was arrived before him: The same Night the *French* retreated to *Santo Stephano*, and hasted away to gain the Pass of *la Madonna de Tennello*, preventing the enemie, who arriv'd there at the very instant that the

French

French had made themſelves Maſters of it with their Vauntguard. Here they fell a skirmiſhing, but with reſervation on the *Spaniſh* ſide, who would not engage themſelves in a Battel with the *French*, who though they were inferiour in number, yet were too ſtrong for them, in reſpect of the goodneſs of their Horſe, *Quincè* paſt directly towards *Alba* without any ſtop, and from thence to *Govenne*, betwixt *Alba* and *Aſti*, extending his Troops along the Banks of the River *Tanaro*, where the *French* made a ſtay till the Arrival of the Mareſchal *de Grancè*, who having paſs'd the Mountains with a Recruit of 1200 men, on the 18. of *September* arrived at the Camp, where informing himſelf of the ſtate of the *Spaniſh* Army, which was likewiſe encamp'd upon the ſame Confines,

endeavouring to penetrate further into *Piedmont*: he had News that *Caracene* was removed from *Montenego*, and march'd with all diligence to gain the Pass of the *Tanaro* at a place called *Rochetta*, with design to go to *Felezzano*.

Hereupon they held a short Council of War, and it was resolv'd not only to hinder his Advance, but engage him to a battel, on which depended their hopes. *Grancè* sent out the Marquess of *Monpesat*, his Lieutenant General (who had the Command of the Rear) to possess himself of the most advantageous ground, and having drawn up the rest of his Army himself in a large field, reaching to the Neighbouring Hills: He advanc'd with 4 Squadrons to descry the enemy, and having discover'd that *Caracene* began to pass his men over upon a Bridge of Boats, followed by the Infan-

Infantry, under the Conduct of Don *Vincenzo Monsuri*, and that the Horse foorded the River a little beneath, led by the Duke *de Sesto*, General of the *Gens d' Arms*, and Count *Galeazzo Trotti* General of the *Neapolitan* Cavalry: He thought it best not to give the *Spaniards* time to finish their Passage, but by possessing himself first of the Field, to necessitate them either to retire or to engage upon disadvantageous termes, he caused therefore his main body to advance with all possible speed; *Caracene* not being able to prevent the *French*, by reason of the slowness of his men, in passing the River, and the loss of two houres time, in staying for the Bridge, resolv'd to expect them under the Advantage of the Posts where he was, and because he had not time to draw into the Plain, and the ground be-

ing somewhat strait on that side the *Tanaro*, accommodating himself as well as he could, both as to his time and his ground, he drew his Horse into Squadrons behind his Infantry.

Thence he possess'd himself immediately of two Cottages, placing there the *Tertia's* of *Don Luigi Benaudes*, and *Don Inigo de Velandia*, and in the space betwixt the two Houses, the Regiments of *Don Giuseppe Velasco*, *Don Diego a' Arragon*, and of *Beltin*, with design to have united them by a branch of a Trench, which for want of time could not be perfected.

The Mareschal observing the posture of the enemy, and perceiving that by the advancing of his Van he might put the *Spanish* Camp into some disorder, by the advantage of the hill (though without Musquet-shot, and provided only

only with two little Field-Pieces) he drew his Army into two lines with all possible expedition.

The Marquess of *Monpesat* had the Command of the right Wing, consisting of the Regiments of *Navarre*, *Perault*, *Aiguebonne*, the Kings *Swiss* Guards, the Squadron of the Mareschals Guards, the Regiments of *Orleans*, *Feron*; of Prince *Maurice* of *Savoy*, *Marcousse*, *Fernes* and *Epinchat*. The left Wing was commanded by the Marquess *de Vardes*, with the Regiment of Foot of *Orleans*, *Lionnois*, and *Quincè*, and of Horse there were the Regiments of St. *Andrè*, *Brigy* and *Villefranche*, on the left hand of which stood all the Companies of Voluntiers, the Cavalry of *Savoy*, under the Command of their General the Marquess *de Monte* of *Verona*, to whom were joyned the Infantry of the Regiment of *Monpesat*, and *Villa*, Lieutenant-General of the *Savoy* Horse.

In

In the second line stood the Regiment of *Saux*, as a Reserve to the Regiment of *Navarr*, with the Regiment of *Carignan de Sault*: and on the left the Regiment of *Grancè*, sustein'd the Regiments of *Orleans* and *Lyonnois*, having with them in the same line the Guards of *Savoy*, the *French Gens d' Armes*, with the Regiments of *Ris*, *Deoncly*, and Saint *Agnan*.

In this Order the *French* advanc'd and with great fury, charg'd three Companies of light Horse, and some parties of Foot, which appearing upon the top of the Hills, were repulsed as far as the Battalions of *Benavides*, *Velandia* and *Beltin*, by whom the *French* were received so couragiously, both with Pike and Musquet, which flanked them thorow several holes of the Cottages, that *Monpesat* finding it impossible to advance further, made a stand.

The

The *French* resolv'd to possess themselves of a little Church or Chappel towards the River, about some 20 paces distant from the little Houses, where *Caracene* had placed two Files of *Spanish* and *Italian* Musquetiers, with Orders, if they were attaqu'd, to retire to a body of his, drawn up hard by, compos'd of the *Tertia's* of *Don Carlo d' Este*, *Don Giuseppe Brancaccio*, *Danel Assy*, Count *di Santilana*, and some foreign souldiers of the State of *Milan*; *Grancè* caus'd the said Chappel to be Assaulted by 200 Foot, seconded by some Horse, which was immediately taken, the Musquetiers retiring according to their Orders, to their main Body, which stood firm in their Post. He sent out after them his Company of *Gens d' Armes*, who advanc'd within 30 Paces of the Trenches, on the *Spanish* left wing; and at the same time

time he made a brisk charge with his Foot, hoping that if he could disorder the Enemies Battalion, the *French* Horse might fall in, and put them to an absolute rout, but meeting with a certain torrent of Waters which in that place falls into the *Tanaro*, the Horse were forc'd to stop their carreer. In the mean time the Troops of *Savoy*, made their charge betwixt the River, and the right Wing of the *Spaniards*, which was the most open place, where at the first volley of the Enemies Musketiers, the Marquess *Monte*, (a person of great Conduct and experience, and of great fame, for several valiant Exploits) was shot in the Head, and died immediatly. The Marquess *Villa* had a slight wound in the Arme, and was afterwards made General in the place of the said *Monte*, the Count *de Medavid*, son of the Mareschal and the Sieur *de*

Boussy,

Boussy, Mareschal *di Battaglia*, and several other Officers were hurt. Whereupon *Grancè* (observing the resoluteness of the *Spaniards*, animated by the presence of their General *Caracene*, who according to the example of an excellent Captain, kept still in the front among his first Files, thrusting himself forward where the danger was greatest) commanded up his second line, with two small peices, one of which was disabled at the first shot, by the breaking of the Carriage, the *French* continued shooting with the other, but to so little purpose, That being repulsed in all places, at length about Sunset their fury beginning to abate for want of Artillery and Amunition, (it being observ'd, that the *Swissers* for want of leaden Bullets had shot away most of their Pewter-buttons off their doublets,) they retreated to the Hill where

and

and the next Morning took their March towards *Montemagno* and *Granai*. There were slain of the *French* in this Engagement, besides the Marquess *de Monte*, 4 Captains, and several other Officers, with a considerable number of common souldiers, which was not precisely known, and above 100 wounded, amongst which several Officers. The *Spaniards* lost but few Souldiers, and few or no Officers, but several were wounded, and among the rest the Marquess *de Caracene* was slightly hurt with a Musket-shot.

After this Fight, the *French* Army remained 17 days at *Mountemagno*, and neither the one nor the other being in a condition to undertake any considerable Enterprize, all the rest of that *Campagne* was spent in Marches, and Counter-Marches from one place to another; The *French* to keep them-

themselves in the Territories of *Milan*, and to subsist in the Enemies Countrey: and the *Spanards*, as much as they could, to prevent them, upon which several skirmishes hapned with reciprocal successe: Afterwa rds the *French* Army dislodg'd from *Mountemagno* and came to *Tubine*, attended still by the *Spaniards*, which at the same time discamp'd from *Felezzano*, and was got in the Enemies front. Here *Caracena* and *Grancè* had a Conference, each of them accompanied with the principal Persons in their Armies, discoursing together for two houres with great Complement and Civility, the *French* remaining well satisfied with the humanity and valour of *Caracena*, holding him in the esteem of a most prudent and most generous Captain.

This Conference being over, the *French* Army kept the Field for

for some time, now in this place, and now in that, but still (according to the Instructions they had receiv'd from *Mazarine*) in the Enemies Countrey, where by the vigilance of the *Spanish* Commanders, not being able to gain any Post to subsist in, and at length the Weather growing sharp, they were forced to retire into *Piemont*, where they winter'd their Foot, and sent their Horse over the Mountains, into *Dauphinè*, *Bress* and *Dombes*, and in this manner ended the *Campagne* in *Italy* in the Year 1653.

Whilst things went thus in *Flanders* and *Italy*, Letters were brought to Court with the Capitulations of *Bourdeaux*, which being read in the Royal Council, and the relation of *de Las* heard, (who was sent from the Generals, and the Sieur *d' Estrades*,) the *Amnesty* was immediately dispatch'd away, conteining an entire abolition

lition of all crimes, without exception of any, but *Francar* the Counsellor, *Blaru*, and *Desert*, Merchants, deputed from the *Olmiera* into *England*, as also *Durateste* and *Villars*, Heads of that Faction, with *Clerat* their Agent in *Spain*. It was decreed moreover in the said *Amnesty*, That the Citizens should renew their Oath of Allegiance, That they should repair the Castles of *Trompet* and *du Ha*, as necessary to restrain the unruly turbulencies of the people, and support the honest and more honourable sort, it being observeable in all Cities, that the Populacie is always an enemy to those who have any thing to lose.

This Declaration of the Kings being propos'd to *La vie*, the Advocate-General (who was at that time at *Bourdeaux*, to draw up a Process against the two Spies which *Marsin* and *Lenet* had sent back into the City)

City) he promis'd the Duke of *Vendosme*, it should be speedily verified; who expected from every one of the Parliament such testimonies of their submission, as might be able to cancel and obliterate the memory of their late disobedience: But the said *La Vie*, making use of this opportunity to render himself necessary; created so many difficulties and ambiguities, perplexing it with such intricate Interpretations, that gave encouragement to the Counsellors of the Parliament, to restrain the Kings pleasure with their Comments, Glosses, and Modifications, that they seem'd not only to be the Interpreters, but the Moderators and Disposers of his Majesties Favours, as if they had come by their means. They stirr'd up the people particularly not to suffer the yoke (as they call'd it) of the Castles, ordering to renew

their

their instances at Court for the demolishing of all the Fortresses in the City, and that if it should be the Kings peremptory resolution to force that servitude upon them, they should not however consign the said places to the Governour-General of the Province.

This reflexion was not at all pleasing to the Cardinal and the otherMinisters, much less the Contion, that the Publication of the Amnesty should be deferr'd, till the Parliament should be established and resident in *Bourdeaux*, as if that had been deemed necessary for the security of the people, and to make valid his Majesties Will and Pleasure, which made the Court the more suspicious of them, by how much they press'd to have their desires in this Point granted. These kinde of Proceedings and Extravagancies of the Parliament, were extreamly resented

resented by the Dukes of *Vandosme* and *Candale*, as looking like manifest demonstrations of their express disobedience; wherfore they order'd the Counsellors which were come from *Reole* to *Bourdeaux*, to return again to their residence. The said *La vie*, who was suppos'd to be the Author of this boldness for his own ends, was expressly forbidden to abide in *Bourdeaux*. After which, having with a wile procured the Original of the Declaration, out of the hands of the Clerk, of the Parliament, it was published by Order of the Generals, by the Magistrates of the City. The Court was as much surprized at these disorders as disgusted with the Parliament of *Guienne*, the most Loyal of whose Members, seem'd by this, to be as much Rebels as the rest, wherupon by a severe decree of the 26. of *September*, they were prohibited (to their great mortification) to meddle in any matters pertaining to the State.

The

The King Generals obſerving the inconvenience of their Troops lying ſo near the Town, reſolv'd to remove them: and by the ſurrender of *Peregueux*, the war in that Province being at an end, the Count *de Bougy*, Lieutenant-General was by Order from the Court ſent away with 6000 Horſe and Foot towards the Frontiers of *Flanders*; Three Thouſand other Horſe, and 2000 Foot were Commanded into *Catalonia*, there remaining only part of the Duke of *Vandoſme*'s Army in the Country, called, *Betwixt the two Seas*, to be ready to be Ship'd upon the firſt Order, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould continue to block up the Mouth of the *Garonne*, who landed ſome men within 12 Leagues of *Blaye*, and ſet on fire certain ſtacks of Hay, belonging to the Duke of St. *Simon*, and on the other ſide they fell into the Country of *Medoc*, and burnt all the Neighboring Villages.

The

The Duke of *Vendosme* in the mean time, having view'd all his Ships under the Fort *Caesar*, and with those which had been equipped by the *Bourdelots*, during the Siedge, he proposed to engage the *Spanish* Fleet, as was earnestly desired by the Duke of *Candale*, and the Count *d' Estrades*, who to that end had brought along with him 700 Seamen from the Isles under his Government of *Rochel*; But the Sea Commanders represented that their force was unequal in respect of their great Ships; for though they out-numbred them in the whole; yet the *French* Ships were much less in bulk; so that the *Spaniards* had great advantage by their *Galeons* full of fresh men, with which they would be too hard for the *French* Fleet, which was neither well mann'd, nor provided with other things necessary.

And

And if the *Spaniards* ſhould put out to Sea; or keep themſelves at the Mouth of the River, where they then were, it was not poſſible for the Galleys (though never ſo well arm'd) nor the ſmall Ships in the *French* Fleet, to do them any miſchief. But if they ſhould advance higher in the River, where the Channel is narrower and full of Sand, then they might be able to Attaque them with more advantage.

To rectify the differences and difficulties the Sea-Commanders objected, the Count *d' Eſtrades* Ingaged to muſter up all the Seamen that were able to bear Arms, and put them on the Ships. But as they were Executing the Duke of *Vandoſm*'s Orders, to conduct them, on on a ſudden the *Spaniſh* Fleet was diſcover'd under Sail, ſtanding towards *Blay*, and advanc'd as far as *Paullac*; not as formerly, five or

ſix in Company to fetch freſh water; but the whole Body of their Navy, in appearance, to fall upon the *French*, at a time when the Duke of *Vandoſme* had withdrawn his Troops into *Xaintoigne*, to eaſe the Countrey about *Bourdeaux*: But being called back again in great haſte, and advancing ſome Regiments to put aboard the Ships, the *Spaniard* retired to the Foſs of *Verdun*.

The Duke of *Vandoſme* had taken a view of the *Spaniſh* Fleet the 26. of *September*, and ſent Sir *George Carteret* to inform himſelf more particularly of their condition; who found they were 28 vaſt and ſtout Galeons; but by ſome which had been taken priſoners in the Iſland of *Patiras*, he underſtood they were much infeſted with the Scurvey, which is a diſeaſe that eats up the Gumms. Nevertheleſs, they landed ſome men at St. *Surin*

de

de Cadurna in *Medoc*, and burnt some few houses, before the Kings troops were in a condition to repulse them, or accost them with their Cannon: As *Vandosme* was preparing to engage them, and had sent several Galeots to Saint *Surin de Mortagne*, and to *Mortagne* it self, to take in some corn; the Count *Marsin* arriving at the *Spanish* Fleet, had a design on that place, and accordingly landed about 3000 men, surprized the ten Galeots, sent thither to furnish themselves with corn for the necessities of the Army and Fleet, forc'd the Castle, and pillag'd some houses; but apprehending, lest the Marquess of *Breval* Mareschal de Camp, should fall upon him with the Regiment of *Normandy*, which was quartered hard by, he a-abandon'd the Post he had taken, and if *Breval* had had but the least number of Horse, to have cut off the passage from the *Spaniards*,

who had no Horse at all, and were laden with booty, he had undoubtedly defeated them.

Marsin made some barricadoes in a Medow, which extends it self to the River, having on one side the *Canale de Mortagne* to shelter that flanck, and on the other, his own men, which he drew into *Battalia*; He sustein'd the skirmish vigorously, & embark't all the plunder of that miserable Country, losing nevertheless some few men in his retreat, which the Regiment of *Normandy* fell upon as they found their Number lessen upon the Shoar.

In the mean time the Count *de Estrades*, had got together about *Rochel* and *Browages*, and other places belonging to his Government, some 1200 Mariners, which he put aboard *French* vessels, and sent them away without delay to joyn with the Duke of *Vandosme*.

The

The Duke being gone on board the Admiral, and all his men embarkt, they set Sail, resolving to give them Battel, but the *Spaniards* surprized with this unexpected resolution, set fire on certain small Vessels, and with the favour of the wind retired. The Duke followed them out of the mouth of the River, where he saw them divide their Fleet into two Squadrons, one of them making towards *Biscay*, and the other towards *Dunkirk*.

The Duke went on shore at *Royan*, and whilst he stayed there to receive more certain news of the enemies Fleet, the *San-Salvatore*, Vice-Admiral of *Spain*, which came from Saint *Sebastian*, together with another small Ship, both of them laden with Victuals and other Provisions for the Fleet, entred into the River, not knowing they was departed, and were so far

engaged amongst the *French* Ships before they were aware, that after some small opposition against the Ship called the *Berger*, they were forc'd to strike Sail, and surrender: In the Vice-Admiral there were 40 Peeces of Cannon, in the other Vessel 700 Marriners, and a Months Provision for the whole *Armada*: After this Prize the *French* Navy retired into the River *Sudra*, and the Duke of *Vandosme* went away to Court: The Count *d' Estrades* for his great merits was declar'd Major of *Bourdeaux*, an Office of great honour and importance, and the Principal in all that Town, signifying as much as the Head or chief Governour of the City: which Office is so considerable, that it was formerly enjoy'd by the Sieurs *de Mattignon*, *d' Ornano*, and *de Roquelaure* Mareschals of *France*.

In this manner the disturbances at

at *Bourdeaux* were composed: But whilst these inhabitants were enjoying the fruits of the peace, which had bin granted them by his Majesties clemency, the Plague breaking out in that City, interrupted their liberty and their Trade, the Countrey, round about was so sorely visited, that it remain'd almost depopulate.

The Deputies of *Bourdeaux* being arrived at Court, which was at that time at *Chalons* in *Champagne*, were received by their Majesties with such demonstrations of clemency and affection, that the guilt of their past errors was quite forgot and gave them confidence to expect even the favour of the Kings bounty, The Parliament of *Guienne*, who had removed themselves to *Reole*, receiving the Provisions of the Government of *Limousin*, granted by his Majesty to the

Mareschal *Turenne)* who with his Valour and Counsels maintain'd the Frontiers against the strongest efforts of the enemie, encamping always so, as to be ready upon the least motion of the Prince of *Condy*, who though he was retired to give his Army refreshment, yet not without thoughts of returning into the Field again, and take up at least his Winter-quarters in *France.*

The Cardinal, finding by the reduction of *Guienne*, the Kings Army's free from a most powerful diversion in those parts, and being able thereby to apply himself with the whole Army, to check the bold designes of the Prince of *Condy*, and ruine his reputation in *France*; He call'd the Generals of the Armies together in his *Abbey* at *Laon*, to a Councel of War, and propos'd to them, that before they went to their Winter-Quarters, to attempt

attempt some new Enterprize, and if possible to take from the Prince of *Condy* the Town of Saint *Menehard*, which having a strong Garrison in it, infested all the Neighbouring Country, and forc'd, not only the Villages and open places, but the walled and strong Townes to pay them very large contribution.

The Judgement of the Major part of the Officers was not to ingage in any new Enterprize that year, for that the *Spaniards*, though much weakned by the siege of *Rocroy*, might recruit themselves, and returning with considerable forces, either raise their siege, to the great disreputation of the *French* Arms, or by some other diversion, recompence the loss they should sustein, and perhaps to double the value.

The Cardinal oppos'd this opinion, and made it appear, that with the Army of the two Mareschals

Turenne, and *la Fertè Seneterre*, they might oppose the *Spaniards* and the Prince of *Conde*; and in the mean time with the Kings Guards and some other few Troops, block up St. *Menehaud*, till the forces from *Guienne*, and certain new Levies from *Germany*, (which had at that time Orders to march) arriving, they might be able to forme a Leagure, and by taking that Town, free the whole Countrey of *Champagne* from their Incursions.

These Reasons prevailing, the Court removed from *Laon* to *Chalons*. The Marquess *de Castelneau* with 1500 men, Monsieur *de* Saint *Maur* with 500 Horse, and some Foot provided by the Cardinal, on the 21. of *October* block'd up the Town, disposing themselves into four Quarters, without any line of Circumvallation, because their Camp being secured by the Armies

mies of the aforesaid Mareschals, they concluded they should be able to reduce it without any formal siege.

And though it seem'd ridiculous at first, that 3500 men should undertake the reducing of a City and and strong Castle, Garrison'd with above 1500 Souldiers, under good Commanders, which were the Marquess *de Forz* Governour of the Town, and Monsieur *de Montal* Commander of the Castle, and indeed the chief Director, as being a particular Confident of the Prince of *Conde*'s; yet the siege was undertaken with such briskness and dexterity, that the unexpected success did much confirm the great Judgment and Parts of the Cardinal in all mens opinion. And certain it is, his good fortune in that Enterprize added very much to his honour, forasmuch as against the sense of the whole Council of War, he alone defended the possibility of it. The

The Marquesses of *Castelneau*, and *Uxelles*, the Count *de Novailles*, and Mounsieur *de St. Maur*, commanded in the Camp before *St. Menehaud*, in quality of Lieutenant Generals: The Provisions for the Camp were supply'd from *Chalons*; and because the Countrey, being ruin'd by the War, could not furnish them with Horses and Carts, for the conveying of such things as were necessary for the siege, they remedied that defect with those belonging to the baggage of the Court; which was never thought on by the enemie; who look'd upon that Enterprize as vain, being undertaken without conveniencies for carrying on the siege; and the rather, because *Clermont* flanck'd them on the left side, whose Garrison scour'd the Countrey continually, and much molested the Neighbouring villages: One day they hapned upon the Court-

Waggons

Waggons, carrying Ammunition and Provisions to the Camp, and took away their Horses.

Whilst the Cardinal was employed in promoting this siege, the Mareschal *de Turenne* march'd from *Aubigny* with five or six thousand men, to observe the Enemies motion, who made a shew as if they intended towards *Rocroy*.

The Mareschal *de la Ferte Seneterre* put himself with his men, betwixt *Clermont* and the *Mo'e*, to give encouragement to the Leagure. The Count *de Beaujeu* with 1500 Commanded men march'd further into *Picardy*, to have an eye to the Frontier Towns. The Duke *de Elbeuf*, and the Count *de Illebonne* his son, with their Troops, kept somtimes at *Rosan*, sometimes at *Mon Cornet*, and somtimes in other stations as Necessity required.

On

On the 26. of *October*, the King accompanied by the Cardinal, and a great number of the Principal Cavaliers of the Court went to the Camp to see what Posture it was in, and to encourage them with his Presence. He lodg'd that night in the Abbey of *Cicussy*, belonging to Cardinal *Bicchi*; the next morning he visited the Quarters of *Nouailles*: from thence he went to the top of a Hill, under which was the quarter of *Castelnau*, from hence certain Cavaliers, to shew their courage, pickeer'd within Musquet-shot of the walls; the King was very well pleased with their Gallantry, which is not unusual among the *French* Gentlemen, the Nobleness of whose blood is for the most part accompanied with undauntedness of mind. The King had a Council of War called in his Presence, and resolv'd to send Monsieur *Villequier* to the

Town

Town with a summons, address'd more particularly to the Marquess *de Forz*. This Marquess, by the means of his Father-in-law Monsieur *de Vaubecourt*, Governour of *Chalons*, had treated with the Court, and in a manner made his Peace, but in the very instant, whilst he was in expectation of the Prince of *Condy*'s consent, the Town being invested he thought it not consistent with his honour to abandon it, and therefore to perform the Punctilio of a generous Cavalier, he resolved to defend it; and that *Montal* might have no occasion to suspect him, he declar'd he would serve in that siege, only in the quality of a private Reformade, and leave the care and Government of the whole to him, as he accordingly did.

The 28. of *October* the King returned to *Chalons*: The 1. of

No-

November the Trenches were opened in two places; and the *French* began to batter the Town, but with little progress, by reason of the brave defence made by the Garrison, who by their Salleys, and their Counter-batteries, gave them more difficulty then was imagin'd.

Upon the News of this Siege, the Prince of *Condy*, who (as hath bin said) was sick of a Quartan Ague, commanded the Counts of *Briole* and *Durax*, to draw out what Troops they could out of the nearest quarters, and endeavour to relieve the place, whilst himself with the *Spanish* Generals, should joyn their Forces, not so much to raise the Siege, as to quarter in the *French* Territories.

The said Counts with the Assistance of the *Lorrainers*, got together 3000 Foot and 2000 Horse; and passing the *Mose*, advanced to

effect

effect their design, which doubtless had succeeded had it not been prevented by the diligence of the Cardinal; Who having intelligence of their Motion the 4th of *November* 1653. at Midnight, from *Grand-Prè* Governour of *Mouson*, he leap'd out of his bed, and gave Order immediately. He first dispatch'd Mounsieur *d' One*, the Lieutenant of his Guards, to *Vitry*, to cause the Count *de Bougy* with the Troops of *Guienne*, to march with all speed to the Camp. He commanded the *Gens d' Armes*, the light Horse of the Kings Guards, and his own, and all the Gentlemen of his Train to march forthwith; He dispatch'd Courriers to all the adjacent parts, requiring all souldiers to repair immediately to the Army, which he design'd should be commanded by the Mareschal *du Plessis Praslin*, in whose valour and fidelity he had great con-

very great confidence; by break of day all the Souldiers and Gentlemen attending the Court appear'd mounted and armed, with an alacrity suitable to the greatness of their courage.

The Marescha1 the same day after dinner departed from *Chalons*, and being accompanied by the above-mentioned Guards, and a good number of Voluntiers, he took his way directly towards the Camp: with design to arrive there in the night, as privately as he could possibly; intending, if the enemie appear'd, as he expected they would the next morning, to fight them; but they were too well advised to come on; perhaps out of fear of being enclosed by the Marescha1 *de la Fertè*, (who by Orders from the Cardinal, was marching to put himself between *Clermont* and St. *Menehaud*, a proper place to have fallen upon their Rear:

Rear, in case they should adventure to raise the siege. Or else, as the *Spaniards* pretended afterwards, by reason the Duke of *Lorrain* would not give his consent.

The next day, the *Guienne* Troops, (consisting of 12 Regiments of Horse, and 10 of Foot, all old and well-disciplin'd souldiers) arriv'd at the Camp; so that the Army being recruited with these and other forces from *Germany*, the Prince of *Condy* was out of hopes of making any further attempt to relieve it, without an entire Army, and that with evident danger of being forc'd to a battel, which was at that time much desired by the *French*, but not by the *Spanish* Commanders, who would have hazarded too much. Wherefore they proceeded very deliberately in seconding the bold Counsels of the Prince of *Condy*, especially the dispute

dispute being for a Town belonging to the said Prince, so that the more forward he was to engage, the more averse they were from venturing their souldiers for another mans advantage; besides, the *Lorrainers* pretended they had done enough that Summer, and would retire to their VVinter-quarters.

Upon the Arrival of *du Plessis Praslin*, the siege was carried on with more vigour then before, and the Town as bravely defended by *Montal*, with frequent Salleys, and reciprocal damages; and he would have done much better, had not one of his Magazines of Ammunition been fired by a Cannon-shot, or some other accident, (for it was diversly reported). The night before the 6th. of *November*, the *French* storm'd the Half-Moon before the *Porte du Bois*, and opened a way into the ditch: but the

the besieged sallying out upon them, they not only interrupted their works, but took *d' Ortis* (a Lieutenant of a Company in the Kings Guards;) prisoner, and sharply handling several other Officers and Souldiers, amongst which *Pontet* a Captain in the same Guards was wounded.

The 16th. at night they sallied again upon the Guard of *Nancre*, (who had then the Command in the Approaches) but were repuls'd, as they were afterwards in another Sally upon the Trenches, guarded by the Regiment of Guards; and again, two days after they were worsted by *Carmon* a Captain in the said Regiment, but with the loss of *la Garde*, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Regiment of *Burgundy*.

The next day, *Damon* the Serjeant Major of the Town was slain in the ditch, as he was viewing which

which was to convey his men with most security to attaque the enemies works.

Castelneau in the mean time caus'd a work to be assaulted, called, the *Ferra cavalli*, and having taken it, he descended into the ditch, where he prepared a Gallery to shelter theirMines, which he happily accomplish'd, after he had beat back the besieged, and slain several of their men in two considerable Sallies.

On the other side, theRegiments of *Uxelles*, and *Dampierre* took the Half-Moon on the right hand of the Breach; so that the *French* standing ready to storm on the one side, and the Mine ready on the other to blow up the Bastion; they within theGarrison wanting Powder, the Governour beat a Parley, offering to surrender upon good Conditions, if they were not reliev'd in 8 days, but this was refus'd

fus'd by the Mareschal, who went on with his Works so fast, that on the 24. of *November* 1653. *Montal* was constrain'd to deliver up the Town, marching away to *Rocroy* on the 27. onely with their Armes and Baggage, followed by a few *French*; the most part of those that served under him accepting of the Amnesty, entred either into the Kings Pay, or retired to their Houses, amongst which the Marquess *de Fors*, and others, (invited by his Majesties clemency, and finding by experience, that the subjects truest felicity consists in their entire duty to their lawful Sovereign) laying aside all bitterness and animosity, return'd to their obedience.

The taking of St. *Menehaud* concluded the *Campagne* for that year, which in the beginning was likely to have proved very troublesom and dangerous the Kings

Kings interest, as well for the inequality of their Forces in those parts; as for the diversion in *Guienne*, where at that time the Power of the Princes was much greater then the Kings, so that by how much the difficulty was the greater, to obstruct the progress of the enemy, by so much the more did it redound to the Honour of the Cardinal, and valour of the Captains, who knew how to Manage their Affaires to the best advantage, for having put so happy an end to so many disasters and Misfortunes, it was but reasonable to expect the Continuation of their success: Seeing the malignity of times can never be so great, but at length by the Constant force of policy and prudence, it may be overcome.

The Conquest of this place freed the Neighbouring Country, from the Contributions which they

they most vigorously exacted towards their maintenance. During this siege, the Cardinal with great vigilance had an eye over all, and gave out such Orders as were most convenient for the good Government of the Kingdom. He dispatch'd Messengers into *Provence*, with directions for the Galleys to put in all necessary Provision of Victuals into *Roses*, apprehending that after the happy relief of *Girona*, the *Spaniards* would attempt that place. He sent the Captain of his Guards to *Brisac*, to compleat the Negotiations with the Count *de Harcourt*, and put that strong Town once more into the Hands of his Majestie. To the turbulent and unquiet spirits of *Bourdeaux*, he apply'd such suitable remedies, as made them not only relish the sweetness of Peace, but abhor and nauseate their former confusions.

At length having issued out Orders for disposing the Souldiers into their Winter-quarters upon the Frontiers, with the least grievance to the subject as was possible, he return'd with the King to *Paris*, where his Majesty made his entry in great triumph, and was received with incredible applause, and with such admiration of the Cardinals Management, that his name became venerable, and was immortalized by the very Tongues of those who had formerly traduc'd him. By order likewise of the Cardinal, Count *Harcourt* was treated withal, for the accommodating his Affairs, and to draw him out of *Brisac*, upon a jealousie that he might treat with some foreign Prince, and endanger that important place: but the business was interrupted upon the very point of Conclusion; for whilst he seemed content with the Government of *Anjou*, and the

Town

Town of *la Fere*, in lieu of his Government of *Alsatia*, being mischievously informed of a design of seizing the Prince of *Armagnac* his eldest son, who was following his studies in *Paris*, he caus'd him to steal away secretly, and come to him to *Brisac*, whereupon the whole Negotiation ceased, and their jealousies and diffidences revived.

It was the general opinion, that Count *Harcourt*, being a Person of valour, and having such Fortresses in his hand, would push on his Affairs to the highest pitch, the better to capitulate, and make his advantage for his reestablishment at Court; but they were mistaken in their Account; he had too noble a mind to engage in any Action that might reflect upon his fidelity, contenting, himself, to pay the Garrison, and establish his security in that place, without making any new Propositions,

ſince the firſt were interrupted; On the other ſide, the Kings Counſel did not much preſs him for ſeveral Reaſons.

The firſt was, becauſe they hoped, when once they began to want money, the Garriſon would revolt for want of their pay. The ſecond, becauſe they would not engage in a Treaty with him, till they were ſure he was Maſter of the Town; for *Charleroy* being alſo there, his Preſence was ſufficient to create a doubt, That the Count's Authority was not abſolute. The third was, that he being a great friend to his own reputation, would never be drawn into an Action that might eclipſe the glory of his name; wherefore they thought it not Prudence to enter into a Treaty with him, leſt they ſhould be forced to another afterwards with *Charleroy*. So that when *Harcourt* began to treat with the Court,

Court, by the mediation of the Baron *de Milet*, and the Abbot of *Charente*, (who imparted all to the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, and the rest of his relations and friends) the Cardinal did what he could to protract the Affair; Monsieur *de Besimaux* Captain of *Mazarins* Guards, went to *Brisac* under pretext of finishing the Treaty, but in stead of concluding it as he made shew he intended; he privately corrupted the Officers of the Garrison of *Philipsbourg*, and prevail'd with them to receive in the Kings Troops, publishing a Declaration too injurious to the loyalty of *Harcourt*, as if he had treated to sell that place to the Duke of *Lorrain*.

Whereupon Command was given to the Officers of the Kings Stables to receive no future Orders from him, as Grand *Escuyer* of *France*, and Directions dispatch'd to the Marescal *de la*

Fertè Senneterre to advance with his Troops into *Alsatia*, and make War upon such Towns as held for him, that he might be compell'd to accept of such terms as his Majesty should please to grant. The Mareschal besieg'd, and in a few dayes took the Castle of *Betford*, valiantly defended by the Count *della Susa*, and sent to *Harcourt* to deliver up *Brisac* without further Expostulation, and to retire to his Government of *Alsatia*, or to *Philipsbourg*, which should be restor'd him. The Count shew'd himself very ready to comply with his Majesties Commands, entred into a Treaty with the Mareschal, and accepted the Articles, which both subscribed to, by which it was agreed, That 40000 Pistols should be deliver'd him to pay *Charleroy* and the Garrison of *Brisac*, and 10000 for himself towards what he had disburs'd, in maintaining the Garrisons of *Brisac* and *Philipsbourg*.

The

The Mareſchal diſpatch'd away the Sieur *de Brinone*, his Nephew, with the Articles, to have them ratified at Court. But the Cardinal being aſſur'd that *Harcourt* could not treat with the *Spaniards*, as not having the Town abſolutely at his command; much leſs with the Emperor, who would not hearken to any ſuch Propoſition, as well for the 3 millions, which the *French* were to pay to the Arch-Duke, *Charles Ferdinand* of *Inſpurg*, according to the treaty of *Munſter*, as alſo not to give the *French* occaſion to cauſe the *Swedes* to return into *Germany*. The Mareſchals Agreement was diſapprov'd, and the Sieurs *de Brinon*, and *D' Hautichamp* who was ſent alſo to the Court by the Count for the ſaid Ratification, were ſent back with Orders to revoke what had paſt; wherupon the Sieur *de Seneterre* writ by *Brinon* to his ſon, that he ſhould not be diſguſted becauſe the Articles were not approv'd, but to obey without further diſpute. The

The Mareschal observ'd the Orders punctually, and sent *Brinon* to the Count with his Letters of excuse, telling him, that the King had not approved of his Treaty, and that therefore there remained nothing for him to do, but to restore all things into their pristine condition, putting *Brisac* immediately into his hands; and that he was marching forthwith into *Alsatia* with his Army, to reduce such places as should refuse to submit. *Harcourt* was much troubled at this unexpected News, complaining he was deluded, and urged that the Mareschal was obliged to make good his Parole; for which reason he kept *Brinon* Prisoner, but to no purpose; for the Mareschal caused Monsieur *D'Hautichamp* to be secured, and sent away the Sieur *de Castelnau* Lieutenant-General, to reduce *Tannes*. *D' Hautichamp* perceiving all his instances for his liberty

berty ineffectual, he desired the Mareschal to consider him as a Prisoner of War, and permit him to go out upon his Parole, which being granted, he proceeded in his journey towards *Brisac*, and arriving at *Tannes*, at the very instant that *Castelnau* was about storming the suburbs which were entrench'd, he writ suddenly to the Mareschal, intreating him to cause them to forbear the assault; and assuring him the Count *de Harcourt* should command the Sieur *de Grum* Covernour of that place to open the Gates. But the Mareschal looking upon this as a delay, only to gain time, would not condescend to any Protraction: Whereupon the suburbs being taken, and a Cessation granted by *Castelnau*, till *D'Hautichamp* returned; he departed with all speed, and visiting the Mareschal by the way, who gave him hopes that the

Truce ſhould be continued till the 9th. of *March* in the morning, that he might have time to return with an Anſwer from *Briſac*; but notwithſtanding the Truce, the Town was ſharply aſſaulted, upon intelligence of which, Count *Harcourt* diſpatched Orders with all ſpeed to Monſieur *Grum* to receive the Kings Troops into the Town, without further Conteſt: *D' Hautichamp* ſent away the Orders over night by a Souldier of the Kings Guards, and was there himſelf in the Morning early: But the Mareſchal, not willing to receive from *Harcourt* the thing he knew he could compaſs himſelf, would not be ſpoke with, and in the mean-while the Town was ſtormed, where *Caſtelnau* receiv'd a hurt with a Musquet-ſhot, & ſeveral other Officers on both ſides were wounded.

The Governour, in confidence of the Treaty with the Mareſchal, coming

coming out of the Town to discourse the business with him, was taken Prisoner; the Kings forces entred the Town, plundred the Governours house, and he himself was condemn'd to pay 3000 Pistols, to his great regret, complaining he had been betray'd under the Publick faith.

At length *Hautichamp* obtained liberty to speak with the Mareschal, who because the Regiment of *Lorrain* had been introduced into *Tannes*, (whereas at first he demanded only the Town, and had promis'd, as Count *Harcourt* affirmed, not to meddle with the Castle,) insisted to have that likewise surrendred, allowing the Governour only four days time to expect Orders from the Count.

Harcourt again by this last Action resolved to take away all Objections that could be made against his sincerity, and at the same time

time he releas'd *Brinon*, and sent back *D'Hautichamp* to the Marescal, and thence to the Court, to assure his Majesty of his submission without further reserve, and that he would retire forthwith to *Philipsbourg*, and there attend his Royall pleasure. In this manner this Prince left *Brisac*, at the same time *Charleroy*, having received his Arrears, the Garrison was changed, and Monsieur *de Besemaux* Captain of the Cardinals Guards was made Governour, with whom were left several other Officers, entirely depending on the King.

This Affair having succeeded, as the Cardinal (contrary to the opinion of many of the Council) had presaged, contributed much to his reputation, and rendred his merits more considerable to the Crown. The Cardinal after all this assured the Duke *d' Elbeuf*, that being thorowly informed of the sincerity

of

of Count *Harcourt*, he had the ſame kindneſs for him as formerly; & that ſeeing he had ſubmitted himſelf ſo ingenuouſly, he would take an opportunity that he ſhould have abſolute ſatisfaction. The Court remain'd very well pleas'd with the Reſpect and Generoſity of the Count in that Action; but thoſe who were emulous of his glory, and with ſeveral ſuggeſtions had wounded his reputation, were much aſtoniſh'd and confus'd.

The Duke *d' Anville*, who not many dayes before had been baniſh'd the Court, was recall'd, and receiv'd into favour again, both by the King and the Cardinal. The diſpleaſure was grounded upon this, that having promiſed to reſign his Government of *Limauſin*, which was deſign'd for the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, in recompence of his ſervices perform'd for the Crown, by the

the instigation of the Arch-bishop of *Burges*, *d'Anville* seemed unwilling to give his Consent; whereupon the Court having engaged their word to *Turenne*, thought themselves obliged to make it good, as well to satisfie him, (who otherwise might have thought himself eluded) as to signifie his Majesties resentment to the Duke, but he, acknowledging his fault, and having perform'd what he promis'd, was restor'd again to Court.

Whilst the Mareschal *de Hoquincourt* was preparing for his journey into *Catalonia*, the States of *Languedoc* that Winter were held at *Pezenas*, a Town and Castle seated upon the Confluence of the two Rivers, the *Peyne* and the *Eraut*; the Marquess *de Plessis Belliere* residing there, and finding the humour of those people, by the infelicity of the times more dis-

pos'd

pos'd to Factions and Cabals, then to pay their Contributions to the King, he used all possible means to reduce them to their obedience; and at last perceiving the said States resolved to contribute nothing, unless the Troops were drawn out of that Province: and knowing that the Provisions of Oats for the Horse, and other Necessaries for the Camp, were to be made out of the Benevolences of that Country, which would amount to a very little, if nothing was given by the States, and by consequence the Army would be uncapable of doing any thing considerable: He offered to take the Field, if any reasonable Contribution would be made towards the subsistence of the Army, to which the States were well enough inclined: He considered moreover, that the time of the year was far spent,

That

That supplies of men were coming to the *Spaniards* out of *Italy*, That the Enemy were drawing together, and made Provision of Cannon, Powder, Ladders, and other Necessaries of Warre at *Castillon*, in order to the besieging of *Roses*; wherefore concluding it would be too late to relieve it, if their Line of Circumvallation should be finished before his Arrival, it was necessary to provide against it in time.

He departed from *Pezenas* the 25. of *May*, and advanc'd to *Rigean*, and *Rivesalta*, where he made some stay to get his Troops together, and to see what the final resolution of the States would be. Above all, he consider'd the importance of conserving *Rossilion*, about which the Cardinal had writ to him, and recommended that Province particularly to his care. He rendezvouz'd his Army at *Baulori*,

lori, from whence he marched the 16. of *July*, to pass the Mountain of *Pertus*; his whole Number consisted of 2500 Horse, and 4000 Foot, all expert and veterane souldiers. The *Spaniards* Army was a Regiment of Foot more in number then the *French*, and was commanded by the Baron *Saback*, the Constable of *Castile*, and the Marquess *Serra*; so that it was probably judged they would have opposed the *French* at that Pass: but they only put a Guard into the Tower of *Longuiera*, purposing that whilst these had stopp'd them, to come in opportunely and defend the entrance, but contrary to all expectation, the Tower yielded at the sight of two small field-pieces, which the *French* had brought with them from *Rossillion*: here they stay'd a day, attending the coming up of their Baggage and Rear-Guard: thence they advanc'd

into

into the Plain beyond *Ouſtelnau*: *Pleſſis Belliere* divided his Army into two Battalia's, upon intelligence that the enemy would expect him about *Caſtillon*, who the more to engage their men to keep the Field, had ſet fire on their Forts before *Roſes*, and drawn out the Garriſon from *Teguiers*. The *French* March'd in good Order directly towards the *Spaniards*, leaving *Teguiers* on their right hand. Their Vanguard diſcover'd the *Spaniards* drawn up in *Battalia* behind *Caſtillon*, under the ſhelter of the Town, a great Moor, and ſeveral Canals and Ditches, but as ſoon as they ſaw Night approaching, and that the *French* Rearguard was at hand: Their Horſe, which had faced the enemy till their Foot and baggage March'd off, began to face about, and retire under the benefit of the Night, leaving only 1200 Men in *Caſtillon*, to hinder

hinder the advance of the *French*.

The Marquess *de Plessis Belliere* call'd a Council of War, to consider whether they should follow the Enemy or not, and it was concluded in the Negative, because in a Country full of difficult and strait passes as that was, it was impossible to force the Enemy to fight, unless he had a mind to it himself; Besides, their provision of Victuals was not yet come up to the Army, and they should be necessitated in a short time, to return for want of it, to the great prejudice of their reputation amongst those people, accustomed to judg of things according to their outward appearance, and it concern'd the *French*, to preserve their friendship. It was resolv'd on therefore to take *Castillen*, before they procedeed any further, and to advance fair and softly, and not engage in long Marches that they should not afterwards be able to prosecute.

To

To this purpose two Pieces of Cannon were sent for from *Roses*, and having taken a view of the Town, they began presently to open the Trenches which were in a short time advanc'd to the very brim of the Ditch, notwithstanding the perpetual firing from the walls.

Castillion has a Rampart about it lin'd with stone, made curtainwise, with a small dry ditch: the Garrison were *Irish* and *Neapolitans*, commanded by Colonel *Milon*, who being made Head of the people of *Naples* in their late Revolutions, deserted their Party, and entred himself into the *Spanish* service, in which he behav'd himself with much reputation. The Besieged made no Salleys as having no works to shelter them without, but they threw such quantities of stones, that the Assailants were obliged to raise a

Gallery

Gallery in the Ditch, to get to the wall with more ſecurity, which being finiſhed, and a Mine ready to ſpring under a Corner of one of the Towers, the Garriſon knowing themſelves not able to hold out, capitulated and ſurrendred upon honourable terms, with obligation to return into *Spain*, by the way of *Fonterabbia*, which was a long way about. The *French* found in the Town ſix Pieces of Cannon, and 5000 pound of Powder, which came very ſeaſonably to them, having ventured upon that Enterprize, very ill provided with Ammunition: During this ſiege *Pleſſis Belliere* ſent the Marqueſs *de Belleſonds* with part of his troops to attaque *Empouries*, the Tower of *Medes*, and ſome other ſmall places, all of them yielding upon the ſame Conditions as thoſe of *Caſtillon*.

The *French*, before they entred

into

into *Catalonia*, knowing the *Irish* not to be over-well satisfied with the *Spaniards*, they invited them to their party, made them very advantageous Offers, which were accepted, with a promise to come over to them with seven Regiments, upon the first opportunity presented.

While the *French* were before *Chastillon*, it was signified to the *Irish* that were within, to perform their Promise; but they reply'd, that they could not abandon the *Spaniards* like Cowards; While they were in that Town, they would defend it like persons of honour; but when the siege was over, they would perform their word, as they did presently after, so soon as they came into *Rossilion*, where taking their leave of their *Neapolitan* Camerades, they march'd into *Dauphine*, where they took up their quarters, and by degrees were followed

lowed by many more of that Nation.

So soon as the *Spaniards* were march'd out of *Chattillon*, *Plessis Belliere* renew'd his Orders already given to all the Neighboring-Villages after the taking of *Barcelona*, compelling them to bring in Provisions to *Roses*: he commanded them likewise to throw down the works the *Spaniards* had made about *Roses* and *Chattillon*, committing the care of it to the Governour, who remain'd in the place with a Regiment of Foot, and another of Horse; but he neglecting to put these Orders in execution was punish'd severely.

Having intelligence afterwards, that the Enemy was retired to *Girona*, and entrenched there, he suddenly took his March that way with resolution to engage them, but finding it not feasible, he march'd along by the River *Fer*, putting

putting himself at the Head of his Scouts, the better to observe the posture of the enemy.

Here he discover'd, that their Horse-Guard, which they kept at the Great Bridge, was retiring towards *Girona*, whereupon the foremost Squadrons of the *French* left the said Bridge on their left hand, and descending along the River side, till they came past the town, they found the *Spanish* Horse at forrage on the other side of the River, who immediately drew themsesves up into Squadrons, and the rest of the troops marching out of *Girona* with their Cannon, they drew up into *Battalia* without the trenches, and here (whilst the Scouts were skirmishing together, from one side of the River to the other) those who went closing up, placed themselves directly before the *Spanish* Army, whose Commanders perceiving the design

ſign of the enemy, they retired immediately within their lines, which were very large, ſtrong and deep, with a well contrived bank, and flanked with four or five Stone-houſes, well-lined with Musquetiers.

Theſe fortifications made exactly according to the Rules of Art, began at the walls of an Hoſpital in the Suburbs, and ended at a little Brook that was not fordeable. In the mean time the Night approach'd, moſt part of the Souldiers wanted powder, and the Waggons which carried that little they had, were not come up; this notwithſtanding, the Souldiers expreſs'd great deſire to fight; wherefore not to deny them this ſatisfaction any longer, *Pleſſis Belliere* took all his Horſe along with him, with 700 Foot, and cauſing every one of them to take a faggot on his back, he paſt the

River on the left hand not far from the Town, and *Bellefonds* did the same about 50 Paces below him.

There were other troublesome Passes betwixt the River and the *Spanish* Camp, so that it was Midnight before their Forelorn could arrive there, where they found the Trenches stuck with lighted Matches, and approaching, perceived the enemy was gone.

Plessis Belliere sent out several small parties, for intelligence which way they were gone, who having sought them all night to no purpose, in the Morning they descried them upon the Mountain behind the City.

The *French* had left their Baggage on the other side of the River, with some few Foot to secure it, and attend the coming of their Cannon; the *Spaniards* perceiving it, caus'd their Horse to

march down from the Mounta in passing thorow the Town, with design to have plundred it, but they reckon'd without their Host, for no sooner were they observ'd to march that way, but the *French* immediately sent seven or eight Squadrons over the River, who constrain'd them to quit their design, and betake themselves again to the Mountain; after which the Baggage and Cannon past over the River with the rest of the Foot. So soon as their Ammunition arrived, which was expected from *Narbon*, the *French* encamp'd in the open Field, within half-Cannon-shot of the Mountain and the town, so that if the enemie drew down their Foot to defend *Girona*; in that case they resolved to attaque the Mountain, and if they stirr'd not, they should be able to attaque and take the Town, at a cheaper rate.

Girona is a great City, situate upon the side of a Mountain, encompass'd with a wall, and flanked with some little Towers. The Houses of the Town serve as a Parapet on that side next the River *Fer*, which washes it on the right side, so that it would have been no hard matter to have taken it, had there not been an Army to defend it. The *French* were Masters of the Field, their Convoys came to them without any danger, and in every skirmish (which were very frequent) the *Spaniards* were still worsted: *Belliere* endeavor'd by all ways to debauch the *Spanish* Souldiers; who both Horse and Foot, came over to them in such numbers, that the Officers themselves were forc'd to be a Guard to their own Souldiers, the *Irish* had promis'd to come in entire Companies to the *French* service; The Town began to be straitned

for

for want of Provisions; Their Horse already for some days had nothing to sustain them, but what Grass they could gather upon the Parapetts of the Wall.

The *Spanish* Generals perceiving their troops daily decreasing, to preserve themselves on the Mountain, they had built three Forts; And design'd (as was collected by some intercepted Letters) to send away part of their Horse to *Barcellona*, as well to give them some refreshment from their sufferings in the Siege, as that they might joyn with the Constable of *Castile*, who was preparing an Army to releive *Girona*; The *French* hereupon were constrain'd to very hard duty, in so much that they kept their Horses Sadled Night and Day. Whilst the Siedge went on in this manner, *Plessis Belliere* had gain'd an intelligence with the Inhabitants of *San Tibeau*, a small Town, with a very

strong Castle lying upon the Sea, betwixt *Pallamos* and *Blanes*, whose Garrison suspecting nothing, and not keeping strict Guards were easily surprized.

Affairs standing thus, the Mareschal *d' Hoquincourt* taking his leave at Court, hastned with all speed into *Languedoc*, where having got together the Souldiers that were design'd to serve under his Command, he march'd away to the Army before *Girona*: *Plessis Belliere* having notice of his approach, sent his Brother-in-law Monsieur *de la Rabiliere* to complement him, and give him an account of what had passed in the Leagure. He acquainted him likewise with their want of powder, and how necessary it would be to cause that to be sent to the Camp, which was expected at *Narbon*, and in the mean time to endeavour to borrow a quantity of the Governours of *Perpignan*

pignan and *Roses*; he advertiz'd him likewise, that if he intended to storm *Girona*, or continue the Siege, it would be convenient to hasten the levies of the *Catalonians*, which were raising in *Rossillon*, to cause the Regiment of *Swisses*, which remain'd at *Locoman* to advance, as also the Queens Regiment, the Regiments *d'Anjou* and *Languedoc*, which refused to march with the rest, (by reason of the precedence, to which the Regiment of *Auvergne* pretended) and stayd at *Constans*, under the Command of *Tilly*.

The Mareschal did what *Belliere* had desired him; he brought these Regiments along with him, who renewed their pretensions to that height that he was forc'd to cause all the Officers of the Regiment of *Auvergne* to be secured, till the Enterprise of *Girona* was over, besides which he

brought 3000 pound of Powder with him from *Perpignan*. *Plessis Belliere* went out to meet him, and brought him to the Camp the 27. of *July*; He took upon him the Command of the Kings Armies in those parts; *Belliere* fell sick of a Feaver, which kept him in his bed several days. The *French* resolving to put an end to the siege, batter'd the walls, made a breach, and attempted to have carried it by assault; but whether the breach was not wide enough, or that the Parapets and Flankers were not well razed, or whether the Souldiers commanded to the assault, did not perform their duties, not following their Officers. They could not make their way through, and desisted from their Enterprize, in hopes that the besieged for want of provision, would yield of themselvs; and indeed they were reduc'd to the utmost extremity when their

their ſupplies began to appear, entring on the 24. of *Septemb.* (at the moſt difficult ſide of the Town to paſs) with a great quantity of meal in Mailes. The *Swiſs*, and the Queens Regiment, ſeconded by the Regiment of Horſe of *Carviſſon* had the Guard of that quarter, but theſe were no ſooner charged by the *Spaniards*, but they fled, and gave them liberty to joyn with thoſe who ſally'd out of the City.

The Mareſchal was gone to viſit certain Poſts, where having News that the ſaid Regiments were attack'd, he repair'd thither with all diligence, but arriving found his own men Flying, and the enemy united. *Belliere*, at the Alarm, made likewiſe to that quarter, and meeting with the Mareſchal he participated to him the Accident; after convenient Conſultation, they reſolv'd to abandon the Enterprize, without loſing more time.

Hoquincourt intreated *Belliere* to take care of their Retreat; in order whereunto he sent his own Regiment of Foot and the *Swisses*, to make good the Great Bridge, to facilitate their passage over the River; after which he caus'd the Army to march in good Order, and passing the River they encamp'd at *Madignan*. So soon as the Guards had quitted the Bridge, the *Spaniards* took possession of it; and whilest the *French* were march'd away, the Constable of *Castile* sent 400 Horse over the River with some Musquetiers, who placed themselves in the houses on the other side of the water. They were no sooner over, but the *French* faced about, and charg'd them so briskly, that they forc'd them back to the River, and took most of them

them Prisoners; This blow so cool'd the *Spaniards*, that they pursued their enemy no further.

From *Madignan*, *Hoquincourt* march'd to *Barca*; And on the 26. of *September* came to *Villeneufve d' Ampuries*, where he remain'd for some time, to take up what corn was to be found in that Countrey, and convey it to *Roses*, causing each Company to carry six quarters of that measure along with them. After this, having nothing more to do in that Countrey of *Lampurdam*, and not being able to maintain his Troops any longer there, he order'd them to pass the Mountain *Pertus* the 28th following. The Regiments of *Anjou*, *Languedoc*, *Roquelaure*, *Gramont* and *Harcourt* were left in *Roses*: On

On the 30th. the rest of the Army arriv'd at *Bouillon* (a Town upon the River *Teich*) The Mareschal quartred his Troops in *Rossiglion*, and those of *Belliere* in *Conflans*.

All these Forces remain'd in that little Countrey, till the appearance of those from *Guienne*, under the Command of the Marquess *de Marinville*, upon whose Arrival in *Rossillon*, *Hoquincourt* resolv'd to put Provisions into *Roses*.

He caus'd all things to be prepar'd to that effect, and resolv'd to conduct them himself with all his chief Officers, and such of his Army as could be spared from the posts which were necessary to be kept, about *Conflans*.

On the 29. of *October* 1653. he passed the Mountaines, and the next Morning put the said Convoy into *Roses* The *French* Army advancing eagerly against the *Spaniards*, They were in an ill condition near

near *Lousteneau*, but the *French* being a little slow in passing the Hills they had opportunity to retire.

The Marquess *de Marinville*, who led the Van that day, with the Troops of *Guienne*, followed the enemy as far as *Feguiers*, where the *Spaniards*, taking the Garrison along with them. The Inhabitants upon the sight of *Marinville*'s Troops, cry'd out, *Viva Francia*, *Long live* France.

The Garrison in *Castillion* retired likewise in all haste. The *6.* of *November*, *Belliere* having the Van, commanded out 100 Horse to discover the enemy; who bringing intelligence of seven Squadrons of *Spaniards* on the other side of the River towards *Servia*, *Hoquincourt* and *Belliere* being at that time together, they march'd with all speed to the River bank: and *Belliere* being acquainted with the Fordeable places, by order of the

the Mareſchal, he paſs'd over and put himſelf in purſuit of theſe Squadrons, with ſo much expedition and ſo good ſucceſs, that he overtook them, charg'd them, and beat them as far as *Bordilles*, one of their quarters, where they endeavoured to rally by the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were there, but they were routed again, and purſued to another of their Poſts, and from thence to their Head-quarters, where meeting with freſh Troops, they turned face and fought bravely for ſome time, but having the diſadvantage of the ground, they were at length quite broken and diſpers'd, many ſlain and wounded, and many Priſoners, and all their baggage taken and plundred. Of the *French* few were ſlain and wounded, and only the two *Vallavoirs*, brothers,

thers, taken Prisoners, by engaging too far into a Squadron of *Spanish* Officers, who were retreating very bravely toward *Girona*.

After this defeat the *French* Troops lodged themselves without any disturbance, in the same quarters that had been taken up for the *Spaniards*, though more enlarged, that they might subsist the longer in those parts, and with more convenience, till the Arrival of Monsieur *Picoy*, who was expected from Court with the Kings Orders for their Winter-quarters in *France*.

And in this posture the *French* Army continued about two months in *Lampurdam*, the *Spaniards* not daring to approach them in the least.

least. The 20. of *December*; *Picoy* arrived from Court with Orders from the King, for their Winter quarters, upon which a Counsel of Officers being called, it was concluded how the Troops were to be dispos'd: In the mean time, they supply'd *Roses* with all manner of Provisions, and transported thither whatever they could finde in *Lamprudam*. On the 27. of *Decemb.* 1653. the *French* Army repass'd the Mountains, and as soon as they were entred into *Rossillon*, the Mareschal gave Orders to *Belliere* for the quartering of his Troops, who having distributed and dispatch'd them to their several places, he took his farewel of the Mareschal, and repair'd to the Court, according to the leave granted him by the King. *Hoquincourt* stay'd with the Army, distributing the rest of them into their Winter-quarters, and making such

Pro-

Provisions for them as were convenient.

Whilst the Cardinal was busied in the functions of the Field, and intent upon the taking of St. *Menehaud*, the Countess of *Mancini* and *Martinozzi*, his Sisters, with one of their daughters, (who after the Parentage betwixt the Pope's Family, and the House of *Barbarini*, were departed from *Rome*) arrived in *Provence*,, receiving great honours in all places where they pass'd, and particularly in *Genoua*, where they were receiv'd with the greatest splendour that could be expected from the Generosity of that State, and befitting the merits of their Brother, and the dignity of those Ladies, who among their other vertues were adorn'd with admirable Modesty, and a noble behav ur. They stay'd in *Provence* some days.

The Court being return'd to *Paris*,

Paris; these Ladies repair'd thither also, and were receiv'd with extraordinary affection and civility, not only by the Grandees of the Court, but by their Majesties themselves.

The Prince of *Conty* arriving at *Cadillac*, found *Langlade* the Cardinals Secretary there lying sick; In the Discourse they had together, the Prince intimated to him his design of reconciling himself to the Court, and to fulfil the last Precepts he receiv'd from his dying Father, which were, to keep himself firm to the interests of the King, and never to deviate from his obedience; he reflected upon the example of his brother the Prince of *Condy*, who whilst he continued in his Allegiance, enjoyed the fruits of a fortunate glory: He considered, that the treachery of those about him, deluded by the private interest of

of their friends, had constrain'd him to separate from his Brother, so that he was reduced at present to a necessity of remaining in an ill condition, where ever he was, if he did not find out some expedient, to return with glory and advantage to his former obedience, and preserve his family in the same state and condition in which his father left it.

He foresaw, that to retire into *Spain*, would not only be against his own *genius*, but also expose him to his Brothers revenge, who being prepossess'd by the sinister Informations of *Marsin* and *Lenet*, would certainly despise him. He considered to retire into *Italy*, or to any of his houses in *France*, he could not avoid the suspicions of the Court, so that either the one way or the other, his life in the very flower of his Age, would become unhappy, idle,

and

and unworthy the vivacity of his spirit. Hereupon, considering with himself what was most essential to his own interest, and having prudently weighed what he was to do, he found the only way to conserve himself in the quality he was born, was to introduce himself, by some strict Alliance, into an entire friendship with the prime Minister, and by consequence into the Kings favour. Of these thoughts he gave some little hint to the aforesaid *Langlade*, but did not declare himself too far: A while after he discover'd his mind more freely to the Duke of *Candale*, whom he look'd upon as his particular friend; and he was not at all deceived, for the Duke concurring in his opinion, approved his judgment as very prudent and well-grounded, and with a generous frankness encourag'd him to proceed, though he himself at the same

ſame time was in treaty of Marriage with the ſame Lady, and did moſt ardently deſire the accompliſhment of it.

It did not ſeem convenient to the Prince to diſcover his inclinations ſo ſuddenly to the Court: he only ſent *Menil* the Captain of his Guards, to paſs ſome few Compliments, without any Letters of Credence, or others inſtructions whatever; *Menil* was received with great Civility, and having diſcover'd the ſentiments not onely of their Majeſties, but alſo of the Cardinal, and the other Miniſters of the Court, he aſſured the Prince at his return, that he had found ſuch a propenſion in the Cardinal towards him, that he could aſſure him of an eternal Oblivion of what was paſt, and a ſincere renovation of his affection for the time to come.

Upon this information, he concluded

cluded to ſend *Saracin* his Steward to Court (as a perſon in whom he much confided) to Negotiate this Affaire with more liberty, and freedom which had bin only darkly hinted to *Langlade* at *Cadillac*.

Saracin ſoon diſcoverd the Cardinals good diſpoſition and after ſome journeys and meetings betwixt him, and *Langlade*, the Treaty of Marriage betwixt the Prince of *Conty*, and the Counteſs of *Martinozza* the Cardinal's Niece, was ſo far advanc't that no doubt was made of it; Such as envyed the glory and repoſe of the Prince and the Cardinal, hearing the News, endeavourd to ſow Tares, and create jealouſies and ſuſpicions a mongſt them: Some repreſented to the Abby *Ondedei*, that all this was but an invention, and artifice. And that *Conty* held private intel-

ligence

ligence with the Prince, his Brother, and his Sister the Duchess of *Longueville*, and that the effect would not answer the outward appearance; Others out of their pretended zeale to the Cardinal, Suggested to him; That to joyn himself in parentage with the greatest Princes in *France*, (he being a stranger) was not the way to secure himself from envy, and establish more solid foundations for the Authority which he at that time possest, seeing the ambition of mankind is such, that every one flattering himself with his own proper esteem, oftimes growes weary of valuing another persons though his principal friend; That the favours of Princes the higher they rise the nearer they are to the disgraces of fortune. That there are but few Masters who will make their Servants their Companions

and

and for the most part, the Patient being cured, the Physician is despised; As an example, they alledged Cardinal *Richlieu*, who by his extravigant greatness, was become so odious to *Lewis* the 13th. that without doubt, had they lived longer together, that Minister must of necessity have fallen; That it would be better therfore to settle his Alliance further off, to secure a retreat if any accident should happen, without exposing himself to the inconstancy of that Nation, who are friends to none but their own fortune.

But the Cardinal esteeming the advantage to be reciprocal, his inclination to his own interest prevail'd above all other Advice, so that the Contract was at last agreed on, and the Marriage concluded by their Majesties, to whose determination the Cardinal left the whole disposure of that Affair, sub-

ſubmitting his will to their pleaſure, (as he ſaid) he had ſacrificed all the reſt of his faculties to their ſervice; but the conſummation was put off, becauſe the Prince was unwilling to be preſent in the Parliament of *Paris*, whilſt they were forming a Proceſs of High Treaſon againſt his Brother the Prince of *Condy*.

He obtein'd therefore, to protract his coming to the Court, till the latter end of the *Carnevale*, about which time he arrived, and was received with all applauſe and ſatisfaction imaginable. The firſt *Saturday* in *Lent* the Ceremony of touching the hand, and ſigning the Articles of Marriage was perform'd. The Princeſs had a Dowry of 200000 Crowns given her by her Uncle, and 50000 by the Kings bounty, beſides a Penſion to the Prince, equivalent to his Eccleſiaſtical Revenue, which he reſign'd

into his Majesties hands; after this followed the Espousals and the Nuptials, which were honoured by the continual Presence of their Majesties, the Duke of *Anjou*, and all the Princes and great Lords of the Court: where there was not any one found so stimulated with envy, or overwhelm'd with rancour; no mind so enraged or corrupted that durst cavil at this Alliance, since the deserts of the Uncle towards the Crown were unparallel'd; and the Beauty of the Bride, such an entire *Compendium* of the most conspicuous qualities in a woman, which were able to excite the praises and commendations of the greatest Emulators and Detractors.

The Queen her self would needs do her the honour to see her in bed; by which incomparable Civility, her Majesty made appear, how much she was pleased with this Wedding.

The

The King afterwards made a Present to the new married Prince, of all the Estate and Offices belonging to his Brother the Prince of *Condy*; but he out of an exemplary Grandeur of mind refused that grace, as despising the riches which came from that spoil.

To express the content and joy every one conceiv'd for the reuniting this Branch to the Royal Stock; The days following were spent in Balls, Feasting, Musick, and other Recreations and Divertisements becoming a Royal and Majestick Court, as is that of the most Christian King.

The HISTORY of the Managements of
CARDINAL MAZARINE.

Lib. II. Part III:

WHilst *Paris* was thus full of joy and festivity, at *Brussels* all was in sadness and confusion for the Imprisonment of Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain*, who was Arrested Prisoner in that City, as shall be related in the ensuing Narrative. The *Spanish* Troops were retiring into their Winter-quarters, and the Count *de Fuensaldagna* considering, that by reason of the Numbers of great Officers, and the Generals of the three Armies, it would be impossible to quarter them all in the Low Countreys; he treated with the Duke of *Lorrain*, and paid him

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a sum of money, upon condition he would quarter his Troops, and some of the Prince of *Condy*'s out of the Countreys belonging to his most Catholick Majesty, as he was accustomed to do at other times, under pretence of being General of the Empire, by which he made bold with several Neutral Countreys in those Provinces, and other Principalities of the Empire, as were most expos'd to that inconvenience. The Duke began to take up his quarters accordingly, and about the middle of Winter marched with his Army into the Countrey of *Liege*, pretending the Elector of *Colen* had given Sanctuary to Cardinal *Mazarine* in his State, permitting him to make levies there, and giving him other assistances against the Prince of *Condy*. The Elector desir'd help of the King of *France* against the Troops of the Prince and the Duke.

Immediately Orders were sent to *Faber* the Governour of *Sedan*, to draw a Body of an Army together, and march to the assistance of the Elector. He executed the Orders with all possible expedition, marching with the *French* Troops directly towards *Liege*. The Duke of *Lorrain*, so soon as he had notice hereof, in stead of meeting and engaging them, as he might easily have done, being much stronger then *Faber*, retired into the Territories of the King of *Spain*, took up quarters there for his men, and came himself to *Brussels*. The proximity of these Troops of the enemie, being as it were in the heart of the Countrey, and the Dukes retreat, without attempting in the least to oppose them: The various Advices they received from several parts, that what was acted by the Duke of *Lorrain*, was done by private Intelligence with Cardinal *Mazarine*,

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gave no ſmall trouble to the Arch-Duke and the Count of *Fuenſaldagne*, and ſo much the more, becauſe theſe Advertiſements did quadrate with the Treaty the Duke made with the King of *France* near *Paris*, deſerting the Princes in their greateſt need; with the withdrawing of his Troops from the ſiege of *Rocroy*: with the Negotiations (which were lately diſcover'd) he had held with the Crown of *Swedeland* and other Princes, to hinder the New Election of the King of the *Romans*, hoping himſelf, by the help of his money, and the aſſiſtance of the King of *France*, and the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, to be able to pretend to that dignity: This jealouſie was not a little fomented by the ſtrait correſpondence he held at that time with the Elector *Palatines* Family, with the *Swedes*, and with other Princes of *Germany*.

to whom he had sent *Ronselot* his Secretary; having sent likewise for the Prince Palatine of *Sultzbach*, in the place of his Brother, killed at the battel of *Rhetel*, with design to marry him to his daughter. By the displeasure he expressd for the assistance granted to the Prince of *Condy*, by whose Treaty with the Court of *Spain*, he pretended to be very much prejudiced, by reason that all the acquisitions made in *France*, being to be deliver'd into his hands, there remain'd no place in the power of the *Spaniards*, to exchange afterward for those of *Lorrain*, at the General Peace. He began therefore to doubt that the bare Protection of *Spain*, would not be sufficient to restore him to the Sovereignty of his Dominions. This was one of the principal Reasons that renewed in the Duke the ancient emulation betwixt the Houses

Houses of *Lorrain* and *Bourbon*, not being able to endure that the Prince of *Condy* should be Master, not only of *Stenay*, *Clermont*, and other places belonging to *Lorrain*, but of the Conquests they should make in *France* also, with the assistance of his forces. He complain'd of these things very earnestly, urging, that *Condy* might be obliged at least to deliver him one of the Towns in his Possession, belonging to *Lorrain*, or otherwise, that he might equally participate of the Conquests that should be made with the help of his Army: Declaring openly, that if they would not consent to one of these Propositions,, neither would he assist them with his Troops in any Enterprize to be undertaken for the sole profit of the Prince of *Condy*.

Upon these suspicions and jealousies the *Spaniard* began to think of a remedy, for so manifest a dan-

ger, both present and to come: that which imported most, was to oppose the *French*; and to pacifie the Elector of *Colen*, with whom it was not convenient at that time to have any dispute.

Hereupon, it was propos'd to the Duke, That with his own Troops, the Prince of *Condy*'s, and some of the *Spanish*, he should make head against the *French*, and the Electors forces, the Prince of *Condy* being unable for that expedition, as being sick at that time at *Rocroy*, but the Duke refus'd it, nor would so much as stir out of *Brussels*; he was desir'd at least to consign them his Troops, but he denied that also, which increased their jealousie more and more, and gave them greater cause to suspect him. It was already three years, that the Count of *Fuensaldagne* had received private Orders from the Court of *Spain*, to secure the Person of the Duke

Duke, when he ſhould ſee a fit time to effect it; but as the ſucceſs of an Affair which drew ſo many conſequences after it was uncertain, and the Count not being able to promiſe himſelf, whether this Act would be approved or diſapproved by the Counſel of *Spain* when it was done, (though the King of *Spain* had every day new Reaſons to confirm his reſolution, without ſeeking further pretences;) He addreſs'd himſelf to the prime Miniſter to be excuſ'd from that Commiſſion; but could not be diſpenſed withal: On the contrary, his Orders were renewed, to take the time he ſhould judge moſt convenient, without participating with the Arch-Duke, giving him withal the Letter that his Majeſty had writ him concerning that Affair, and perſwaded him to give order about it.

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The Election of the time gave no small trouble to the Count, in respect the Dukes comportment rendred the execution of his Orders every day more necessary; To secure his Person, and not lose his Troops, was very difficult.

For the better execution of his design, the Count with great dexterity had gain'd certain of the Dukes chief Officers, but without the least discovery of his Plot: he made sure of several who promised to stand by him in whatever he attempted. The late occasion the Duke gave, was of very great importance for the furtherance of this Affair; for hereby they should not only pacifie the Elector, but satisfie the Emperour (who was already informed of all the Dukes Negotiations) and had need of the Electors of *Colen* and *Bavaria*, inseparable, in respect of their Parentage and common interest. On the one

one side the securing of the Dukes Person seemed to *Fuensaldagne* not very difficult, he being in *Brussels*, and at a distance from his Army; but on the other he saw infinite discouragements; for the *French* Army being within three leagues of *Brussels*, and the Duke's troops united with the Prince of *Condy*'s, he knew not (though the said Princes had been perpetual enemies) how *Condy* might resent this resolution, apprehending perhaps the same fortune himself.

The Dukes Troops were so near the *French*, they might joyne with them in very few houres; the *Spanish* Army were dispers'd in their Winter-quarters: The Count consider'd likewise, that the Duke was in good correspondence with the inhabitants of *Brussels*, and that there were many *Lorrainers* in the town; that the Arch-Duke perhaps would not have him taken in the

manner

manner as was to be wished, for though he had but little friendship for the Duke, and was entirely for the interest of the House of *Austria*; yet he was a Prince of so tender a Conscience, that he imparted every thing that gave him the least trouble to the Jesuits, who being always intent upon the greatness and conservation of their Society, would not concern themselves in any thing that might prove a stop or impediment to their common advantage.

All these Reasons, both on the one side and the other, kept the Count for three days together in great perplexity of thoughts, thinking within himself, without daring to communicate it with any one, whether he had best conceal his Orders from the Arch-Duke, or discover them to him: but seeing that danger does always increase with delay, he resolv'd to draw the *Spanish*

nish Army together under pretence of opposing the Enemy, and to secure anew the Dukes Troops by *Regalio*'s and Presents, of which the said Count was always very liberal. He determin'd afterward to impart all to the Arch-Duke, to shew him his Orders he had from the King, and to present him his Majesties Letter. His Imperial Highness concurr'd immediately, and the execution of it was disposed in the ensuing manner.

First, they drew 300 Horse about *Brussels*, under another pretence; and it was resolved, that the Count *de Garcies*, Camp-Master General, should go with some particular persons to find out the Duke, and conduct him to the Arch-Duke; under colour that he must speak with him immediately about urgent Affairs.

Garcies

Garcies went, and found the Duke with a Father Confessor of the converted *Courtizans* in their little Church, and acquainted him that the Arch-Duke desir'd to speak with him presently about some matters of great consequence that concern'd the interest of the Crown, and that he stay'd for him at the Palace. The Duke answered, *Parmi esser l' hora un poco tarda, domattina saro à servirlo, I suppose it is too late now, I shall wait on him in the morning.* The Count replied, *Tengo ordine de condur V. A. alla Corte prima. che si faccia notte, My Orders are to attend your Highness to the Court before it be night.* To which the Duke answer'd, *V. S. vada che la Seguiro, If you please to go, Sir, I shall follow you.*

Being arrived at the broad place before the Palace, where the Courtiers use to walk, the Count said to him, *V. A. prenda il cammino verso quell'*

quell' altro appartamento tenendo io ordine, dal Re mio signore d' arrestarla, Your Highness please to walk towards that other Appartment, for I have Orders from the King my Master to Arrest you: The Duke stopt immediately, and desired to be conducted to the Arch-Duke, but was denied, leading him hastily to the quarters prepared for him, where he was honourably served, and guarded by the principal Officers of the Army.

Assoon as he was entred the Palace, the Count *de Fuensaldagne* sent word to the Burgo-Master to put the inhabitants in Armes, and place Guards in all the streets that lead to the Palace.

He clap'd double Guards at the Gates and in the *Piazza*'s, and the same night dispatch'd the Count *de Bruny*, to the Count *de Ligneville*, who commanded the Dukes Troops to give him an Account of what had hap-

hapned, and to let him know that the next day he would come and discourse the business with the Officers, and bring money along with him to satisfie the souldiers; he sent him word likewise that the Count *de Sant Amour* was gone Post that night to acquaint the Emperour, and to invite Duke *Francis* to come and take upon him the Command of the Army, and to take care of his Brothers Concerns. The next day the Duke was sent to the Castle of *Antwerp*, accompanied with 300 Horse, and the aforesaid Camp-Master General, with several other Cavaliers, and committed to the custody of Colonel *Barnaby de Vergas*.

This being dispatch'd, *Fuensaldagne* went to the quarters of the *Lorrainers*, though many dissuaded him, in respect of the great danger to which he expos'd himself, among those people extreamly affected to their Prince,

Prince, he discours'd with the Officers, and carried himself so dexterously, that he perswaded them, partly by fair words, and partly by ready money, to continue in his Majesties service, without any more stir, assuring them Duke *Francis* would be with them in a short time.

After this they consulted to oppose the *French*, and drive them from their Neighbouring quarters, and it was concluded, that the whole Army should march against them. They endeavor'd likewise to establish a good correspondence with the Elector of *Colen*, which was easily effected by the means of a Conference held in *Tirlemont*, by the Prince *de Ligni*, and the Seecretary *Navarro*: whereupon the *French* retired, the Elector having signified to them that he had no more need of them, much less of the *Spanish* troops, by which means the Country of *Liege* remained free; in this manner this great difficulty

was

was overcome, which might have produc'd great inconvenience in that countrey, & the souldiers were sent again into their quarters, intending to fill up their Companies and recruit them. *Fuensaldagne* issued out Orders for the good Government, and setled all Affairs, sparing for no money, which upon such occasions ought to be liberally dispensed.

Many are of opinion the Duke did absolutely believ he should have his life taken away by some lingering death: But the Count *de Garcies* told him very discreetly that he could not but wonder his Highness had such apprehensions; That the King his Master desired only to secure him for some time, upon some occasion that concerned the Crown.

A Manifesto was afterward publish'd by the Arch-Duke, declaring, that when the Duke retired first into the *Spanish* dominions

minions to secure himself against the violences the *French* began to exercise both upon his person and Estate; He was receiv'd by his most Catholick Majesty and his Lieutenant Generals, with cordial friendship and assurance of protection, and with so much sincerity to his interests that they included him in all Negotiations and Treaties for a General Peace, giving hereby sufficient proof of their candid faith, and honourable esteem of his person, admitting him moreover into all Councils and Resolutions concerning the War, which was carried on by his Majesties Ministers. That notwithstanding so many and so great obligations, contrary to his duty, and all terms of thankfulness and gratitude, he had swerv'd from these streight ties of Obligation, to the great prejudice of the interest and welfare of the Crown; for besides the tears,

sighs

sighs and general Lamentations of the people, which had rendred the inhumanities, rapines, and sacriledges of his souldiers sufficiently notorious, committed even upon his own subjects, whose insolencies were connived at by the Duke himself. His secret Intelligences and private designes tending to the prejudice of the publick benefit and service, (to which he was bound to give a most sincere assistance with all his forces) were amply discover'd; every one might discern his inconstancy and dissimulated variableness. Besides, in the resolutions of war, and the delays he affected in the execution of the most important expeditions, from whence there hapned by his only fault so many funest and unhappy results, in several considerable Enterprises, which according to all humane Providence would have proved fortunate and successful. That all these things were so manifest, not only

only to the Lieutenant-Generals, the Collonells, and all the Officers of the Army, but to the very Souldiers themselves and the common People, who were eye-witnesses thereof, every one exclaiming and wondering that such abuses should be suffer'd to run on and no remedy apply'd. True it was, his most Catholick Majesty out of his extraordinary kindness and affection for the house of *Lorrain*, had bin indulgent to the last extremity, being very much troubled to have recourse to such expedients, hoping still that the remorse of his own conscience would some time or other awaken the Duke, and putting him in mind of his ingratitude towards so favourable and incomparable a King, dispose him to return to his duty; But growing worse every day then other, and the irregularities of his actions beyond all tolleration,

so

so that all his Majesties subjects, all the Princes and Neighbouring States, had him in such detestation, that the effect of their vengeance was like to fall heavy upon *Flanders*. That His Catholick Majesty, not to provoke any longer the displeasure of Heaven, the indignation of the people and the Princes, that were abused in their own Dominions, could not any longer defer the necessary precautions for the stopping of these disorders, and therefore had caus'd his person to be secured; in which he had neither transgrest the Law of Nature nor Nations, which allow all Sovereign Princes liberty, to remove (without espect of persons) the oppressions and violences against their States, or their subjects, and to do justice to themselves, their People, and their neighbouring Potentates & friends, after the trial of all ways of sweetness and perswasion proves ineffectual,

ctual: That what was acted was not done upon any aversion to the House of *Lorrain*, protesting on the contrary always to protect it, and its interests; in testimony whereof he had proposed Duke *Francis* his Brother to the Command of the Dukes Troops; and accordingly did declare and require all persons to receive and observe the Orders of the Count *de Ligneville* Lieutenant-General of the said Troops till the Dukes Arrival; assuring moreover all the Officers and Souldiers of a General Pardon of all their Disorders committed till that time, under the command of the said Duke *Charles*. This Manifesto was made the same day the Duke was Arrested, which was the 25. of *Feb:* 1654.

It was afterwards insinuated to the Souldiers, that the Duke should not be sent into *Spain* at

all, but that when ſome certain points were adjuſted, and he had given ſecurity for his future fidelity, he ſhould be ſet at liberty, by which ſuggeſtions they appeaſed the minds of the Officers and Souldiers, who being wel-affected to the ſervice of their Prince, were not a littleſurprized at the novelty of this caſe.

Several reflexions were made upon this Action, and ſome omitted not to conſider, whether the advantage or prejudice that might ſucceed upon it, was likely to be the greater. It was conſider'd, that the ſervices the ſaid Duke had done for the Crown of *Spain*, were apparent: but his failings, publiſh'd in the Arch-Dukes Manifeſto and Declarations were not known to all, and that little credit is ordinarily given to what is publiſh'd by thoſe that are intereſſed. That it would be hard to dis-

dispossess the people of an opinion they had imbibed, That the Duke out of meer complaisance to the *Spaniards*, had drawn upon himself the displeasure and chastisement of the King of *France*: so that if after being beaten out of his countrey for their sakes, they had received him into *Flanders*, it was rather what they were obliged to, then a courtesie.

That by how much the more the said Duke was blamed by the Ministers of *Spain*, by so much the more justifiable were the Proceedings of the *French* against him, because if the *Spaniards*, who were so much obliged to him had just cause to chastise him, it might well be thought the *French* had more reason, he having proceed d in a hostile manner against them: Moreover, the doubt that this example would be mis-interpreted by others that served

them, gave no small trouble to the *Spaniards*, fearing it might move them to resolutions little beneficial to their service, upon suspition that their merits might hereafter meet with ingratitude, and their errours never be pardoned. Upon this News the Court of *France* made a great stir, endeavouring to make advantage of this Conjuncture as favourable, to calm the Actions of their enemies: And because the whole Affair will be more clearly comprehended by the Manifesto which was publish'd in the Name of his most Christian Majesty, the 2. of *July* 1654. at *Sedan* (where the Court was then resident) it will not be amiss to insert it here, as followeth.

His most Christian Majesty being informed, that several Officers as well as Souldiers and other persons belonging to the Wars, Natives of the countreys of

of *Lorrain* and *Barrois*, to the prejudice of their honour and duty, (notwithstanding the great injury done by the *Spaniards* to Duke *Charles* their lawful Prince, in detaining his person) have taken part and engaged themselves with them, contemning the advantageous offers made them to enable them to set him at liberty; and his Majesty considering further that to continue the same tenderness towards them which he had shewn ever since *Lorrain* was reduced under his obedience (haveing never proceeded to any severity against those who abandoned their Country, seeing they followed the fortune and commands of their Prince) his Clemency would prove too prejudicial to his affaires, he is resolv'd, as in justice he is bound, to have recourse to all such means as are in his power, to repress them and make them sensible of his in-

dignation, since they acting indirectly against the interest of his Crown, as also against the interests of their own Duke and his Family, for whom his Majesty has always sufficiently manifested his esteem and affection. having many times, (as is notorious to all the world) offered the said Duke to restore him to his Countrey, if he would desert the *Spanish* interest, and come over to his Partie; but he could never be brought to any resolution, to prevent the disgrace which is at length fallen upon him; imagining perhaps, that by refusing such considerable and advantageous Propositions from *France*; and by his strict Alliance with *Spain*, (so long continued, and with such extraordinary constancy) he should have deserved of them another kind of recompence, then to be laid in prison, and deprived of his state.

His

His Majestie therefore Orders, and expresly commands all Officers, Souldiers, and other Natives of *Lorrain* and *Barrois*, serving in the Army of the said Duke, and that are any way engaged with the *Spaniards*, to abandon them, and retire themselves within the space of 15 days after the Publication hereof, into the Frontiers of *France*, either to take up Armes under his Majestie (in which case they shall be entertained and used as the rest under his Command) or to return into their Native Countreys, or wherever else their Estates do lie, provided they make a Declaration in authentick manner and form before the Kings Judges, in those places where they intend to reside, or the next they can meet with, never to bear Arms, nor to engage directly or indirectly upon any account to the prejudice of his Majesties service, under penalty (to those which transgress

after the time allotted) of being declar'd guilty and convict of High Treason, and as such, to be treated by the confiscation of their Estates, the razing of their houses, cutting down their woods, and other most severe Penalties contain'd in the Orders upon such crimes. His Majestie does furthermore command and require the Sieurs *de Turenne* and *la Fertè* Mareschals of *France*, to cause these Presents to be Published in every place where need shall require, to the end that no man may pretend ignorance; and that they be aiding, as much as in them lies, to the full and entire execution of all and every particular herein contained; declaring, that equal credit is to be given to the authentick Copies hereof, as to the Original it self.

To this Manifesto there was annexed a Declaration, concerning what

what reception ſhould be given to the Colonels, Captains, Officers and Souldiers of the Duke of *Lorrain*'s Army, which ſhould come into the *French* ſervice, in the Tenor enſuing.

That the King being highly concerned fot the detention of Duke *Charles* of *Lorrain* by the *Spaniards*, and for the unworthy treatment he rec iv'd from a Nation, that have no Authority over his Perſon nor his Troops, he cauſed to be propoſed to the Count *de Ligneville* Commander in Chief of the ſaid Dukes Army, divers ways for the procurement of his liberty, before he were convey'd into *Spain*, according as the ſaid Count had notice was intended. But he would not hearken to this Advice to the prejudice of his honour and fidelity, having ſuffered himſelf to be gained by the *Spaniards*, to whom he hath ſhewn greater affection

then

then to his own Master, and considering that the Colonels, Captains and other Officers might be inclin'd to follow his Majesties designes for the enlargement of the said Duke, he did by these Presents give assurance to all Officers and Souldiers, as well of Foot as Horse, belonging to the *Lorrain* Army, which to vindicate the wrong done to their Master, and to set him at liberty, should come into his Majesties service and pay, That they should be placed, and continued together in one body, under the Command of the Mareschal *de la Fertè Seneterre* Governour of *Lorrain* and *Barrois*.

That according as any such body or company of the said Troops shall unite and joyn together, they shall immediately receive a Pay, both Officers and Souldiers, and every one shall be preserv'd and maintain'd in the same quality

lity and condition as before.

That Justice shall be administred by the Colonel of every Regiment, in the same manner as heretofore.

That his Majesty will assign them Winter-quarters, so soon as the *Campagne* shall be ended, and that they shall be treated in all places, and upon all occasions, as other forreign Troops in his Majesties service, promising in the faith and word of a King, to maintain and cause to be punctually observed, what he has declared and promised.

At the first News of the Dukes Imprisonment, his most Christian Majesty had dispatch'd Monsieur *de la Borez* to the Count *de Ligneville* with instructions, to let him know the obligation that lay upon him to endeavor the en-

enlargement of his Master by force of Armes, if amicable ways would not prevail: But all the Arguments used to the said Count, and to Duke *Francis*, (who not many days before arrived in *Flanders* from *Germany*,) proved ineffectual, the Managements of the *Spanish* Ministers having had better success then the sollicitations of Cardinal *Mazarine*: *Ligneville* excusing himself that he had express Orders from Duke *Charles* to obey his brother Duke *Francis*: and this Prince relying upon the Promises made him of being put into the same command as his Brother, did hope to be able to obtain more favour by his own merit then by force.

The Cardinal continued in the mean time with prudent Councils, to manage other designs, the principal was, to carry on the Wars in the Enemies countrey, thereby to force

force the *Spaniard* to a Peace, which he said they pretended very much to wish for, but in such manner, and with such advantages to themselves, that not being fit to be granted, they accus'd him of being an enemy to all accommodation.

He reassumed the Negotiation of a League with the Protector *Cromwell* at *London*, to secure the *French* from the jealousies they had reason to conceive of that Nation, at that time in Armes, and free from any diversion elsewhere. And to observe the motions of the *Spaniards* in *Biscay*, that they might not introduce any new confusions in those parts; he caus'd the Mareschal *de Gramont* (in whose valour and fidelity he rely'd very much) to repair to his Government of *Bayon* and *Bearn*, there to have an eye to any attempt that might be made against those Provinces, for

for the better security of which, he concluded a Truce or Treaty of Neutrality and Commerce during the War: betwixt *Bayon* and the *Basques* subjects of *France*, and the *Biscailins* subjects of *Spain*.

He sent out new Orders for recruiting the old Troops, and for levying of new, to the end, that in the Spring they might be able to take the field in *Flanders*, *Catalonia* and *Piemont*; He commanded the fitting up of the Fleet in *Provence*, and all necessary Provisions to be got ready to put to sea when occasion should require, either towards *Catalonia* or the Kingdom of *Naples*; from whence the Duke of *Guise* reiterated his instances for their suddden resolution, upon the Account of the good intelligence he held with the malcontents in that City, by whom he was sollicited over and over, and

and many Messengers sent to invite him thither.

And as he was seriously intent upon his martial Affairs, so was he not unmindful for the establishment of quiet at home, prevailing with His Majesty to extend his clemency even towards those as were still contumacious, and to receive every body into favour, putting an end to all domestick jealousies, that it might appear to all men, that there was nothing he desired more, then to render his Ministry equally profitable and grateful to all the *French* Nation, towards which (notwithstanding the ill Treatment he had receiv'd) in stead of seeking revenge, forgetting all provocations, his aim was by his goodness and meekness, to work them gently to a repentance for their past faults, rather then by punishing them, precipitate them into new & more desperate offences.

FINIS.

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ERRATA,

Page 72. line 2. reade *finding*. From *fol.* 73. to *fol.* 97. amend the Numbers.

FINIS.